

The monetary system works

The international monetary system, in some ways a jerry-built mechanism since the breakdown of the old Bretton Woods scheme in 1973, has been functioning rather well. The International Monetary Fund acknowledges as much in its just-published annual report.

That happy situation, however, is a surprise — and a relief — in many central bankers. They had expected much worse.

What happened in February-March, 1973, was the falling apart of the old par-value system that had existed since the Bretton Woods agreement of 1944 creating the IMF and the postwar international monetary system. Each country pegged the value of its currency against gold or the United States dollar and maintained that relationship by trading on the foreign exchange markets. The IMF, with its pool of funds, provided loans to countries in balance of payments difficulties to help them protect the par value of their currencies.

The Bretton Woods system created enough stability in currency relationships that world trade generally flourished for some three decades. It facilitated the development of unprecedented prosperity in the democratic industrial nations.

But the old system had a fatal weakness. It did not guarantee proper equilibrium between the key reserve currency — the U.S. dollar — and other major currencies such as the West German mark, the French franc, or the Japanese yen. That relationship got out of whack. The U.S. dollar became too expensive.

A full-fledged international monetary crisis forced the central bankers and finance ministers of the major industrial nations to deal with this issue in 1971. In December they met in Washington at the Smithsonian Institution and settled on a new pattern of fixed exchange rates.

That pattern didn't last long.

What has emerged is a diversity of exchange rate practices. Most of the industrial countries let their currencies "float" on the foreign exchange markets — that is, they let demand and supply determine the price of the currency.

The key characteristic of this new "system" is flexibility. The floating currencies change in value constantly. Those nations with pegged

currencies have generally shown less reluctance to set new values for them.

Comments the IMF: "... there has been an increasing disposition in regard to the exchange rate as an instrument of policy that may need to be changed from time to time to respond to disequilibrium that have emerged. Countries that are prepared to conduct their domestic policies so as to maintain a rigidly fixed peg for any appreciable period of time now represent only a small proportion of world trade."

Many central bankers used to believe that such a system of reduced restraints would result in destructive rounds of competitive devaluations — nations trying to make their exports more competitive by successively cheapening their currencies. But so far no such scenario has developed.

Many academicians, to the contrary, argued that a system of floating or more flexible exchange rates would offer several advantages. For one thing, they said, there would be fewer international monetary crises. A country allowing above-average domestic inflation would see its currency float downward on the foreign exchange markets without any crisis. Domestic pressures rather than international payments problems would become the major impetus for economic discipline.

And that is what has happened. The greater exchange rate flexibility of the past four years has been helpful to the adjustment process insofar as exchange rate movements have prevented certain current account imbalances from developing or widening owing to divergent inflation rates. Rate flexibility has also facilitated the financing of current account imbalances by encouraging equilibrating capital movements.

It would be much better if the nations of the world brought inflation under strict control. Then, under either a floating-rate or a fixed-rate monetary system, there would be few changes necessary in exchange rates. Given the current economic instability worldwide, the almost ad hoc, pragmatic, flexible system has worked remarkably well. Murphy's law — that anything that can go wrong will — has not been applicable in this area.

Third world's good news

News about the third world tends to be largely on the pessimistic side. So much so that it often generates a feeling of helplessness about North-South problems. It should therefore be heartening to all to learn that the developing nations are making creditable progress. The World Bank has just reported that, despite recession in the industrialized countries, the economies of the poorer nations as a group have been growing at a respectable rate in recent years. The picture is decidedly mixed but the gains are worth citing to help keep the still-awful problems of poverty in perspective. Among the bank's findings:

- The per capita growth rates of the developing nations in the period 1950-1975 have been "historically unprecedented."

- For a quarter of a century, the output of food has "more than kept pace" with the growth of population.

- All across the poorer countries, manufacturing sectors that produce a wide range of consumer and intermediate products, and more advanced developing countries are also manufacturing capital goods and products that are competitive internationally.

- The social and physical infrastructure of the poor nations has been "transformed." There are many new schools, ports, roads, railways, and power stations.

- Not all the poor countries shared in this overall expansion, but most were able to build foundations that enabled them to ride out the recession years and to provide a springboard for ongoing growth.

These trends should reassure national policymakers in both the industrialized and the poor nations as they continue to grapple with the intractable problem of dire poverty. And dire it is. We would not minimize the challenge that remains. As the World Bank forthrightly ob-

serves, "almost a billion people are today living in poverty, and growth rates in the poorer developing countries are insufficient to make a dent in reducing, much less eradicating, poverty." In other words, the benefits brought to the upper segments of the population in the poor countries have not "trickled down" to the impoverished bottom.

To break through this cycle requires a two-pronged attack. Both the rich and the poor have to exert an even bigger effort than they have to date. The "key" to raising living standards of most of the poor, says the World Bank, is agriculture; and the developing countries have to increase farm productivity and carry out those social reforms needed to make this possible. They must also plan wisely for urban growth and for development of their natural resources.

The bank also notes that the aid and concessional aid they are giving the third world. On the minus side of things, it is regrettable that the official aid by members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development rose only 1 percent in dollar terms and actually declined in real terms last year. As a percentage of their combined GNP, the bank reports, such aid dropped from 0.38 percent in 1975 to 0.33 percent in 1976.

With the overall picture in the developing world much improved over the last 25 years, this is a time for the rich to dig in their heels. It is in fact a time to move forward in an increasingly interdependent world with a greater sense of buoyancy and determination. As various North-South forums have way this fall — the United Nations, the International Wheat Council, and others — a spirit of optimism to the benefit of all is clearly in order.

Roots!



The Christian Science Monitor

To end abuse of psychiatry

Evidence that the Soviet Union incarcerates and tortures political dissidents in mental hospitals has mounted for some time. But now that the World Psychiatric Association has condemned such inhuman misuses of psychiatry, the Kremlin will be under increased pressure to end the practice.

The fact that an international group took up the issue on professional grounds and not merely as an aspect of human rights lends weight to the cause. The Soviet delegation boycotted debate of this issue at the recent meeting in Honolulu. But it did not walk out of the world organization as feared. One suspects that Soviet psychiatrists are not happy to be doing the KGB's brutal bidding — declaring Soviet citizens "mentally ill" simply because they criticize Kremlin policies and press for civil

rights. How even they have the professional respect of their colleagues internationally who they so abuse their calling?

Even more important, the World Psychiatric Association established a permanent international committee to look into the misuses of psychiatry anywhere in the world. Certainly there are many countries — Argentina, Chile, South Africa — where complaints are heard. Even in the United States questions have been raised about how testimony from psychiatrists is sometimes wrongly used in court trials.

This broader concern about psychiatric abuse can only be welcomed. In a profession dedicated to healing mankind, it is doubly reprehensible that it should ever be used to inflict mental and physical cruelty for political purposes.

Sail spray from the America's Cup

You might think it would become a bore, what with the same side winning all the time. But to be in Newport, Rhode Island, during an America's Cup summer is to taste an intangible excitement. It links the pre-industrial age of man conquering the seas with sails and skill to a day when their exploits can be televised as if to annihilate space and time. And think of the glory for the challenger that does eventually take the cup from the New York Yacht Club, which hangs onto it well into the second century thanks to the past week's four straight wins by Courageous. No wonder the loser of the defeated Australians said, "We will be back, and we plan to win."

The flamboyant American skipper, Ted Turner, called the Australians "great competitors and outstanding gentlemen." This is a sport whose appeal depends not on the violence which fuels au-

many other contests these days. If the America's Cup means elitism, it also means excellence.

Why did the Americans win again? Certainly the sight of the Australia, with its sleek, simple Spartan grace, for example, made a worthy contender. Was it the American technology, the superb sails and sailhandling? Can the whole Courageous package never be duplicated or surpassed by another country? Such are the questions that will bring not only the Australians back to Newport in 1980 but the eyes of everyone who wonders if this will be the year — or who simply wants a vicarious splash of that salt spray which tingles at the coastal cheeks.

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White House calls Gromyko visit 'really quite encouraging'

U.S. foreign policy gets moving:

No rabbits out of hats but some quiet successes

By Daniel Southard
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

After a long period of diplomatic bleakness, the Carter administration is enjoying an almost across-the-board sense of diplomatic movement, and in some cases upturn, in its foreign policy initiatives.

Much could still go wrong in almost every area, and in the case of southern Africa, as one American diplomat put it, "An awful lot of things could go very wrong, very quickly."

Nonetheless, the signs of diplomatic "movement" are there, notably in talks with the Soviets on strategic arms limitations and in talks with the Arabs and Israelis on securing a Middle East peace settlement. There are signs, too, of diplomatic progress in less publicized areas, such as nuclear nonproliferation.

Many of the positive signs have gone unnoticed because they have appeared as mere flashes of light in that murky area

where tough, secret negotiating is taking place. The diplomats have had to take over where President Carter's rhetoric left off. The result has sometimes been what critics of the administration would call "compromise" and what administration supporters would call a "growing awareness of the complexity of some of the issues."

The President has had — and probably will continue to have — some difficulty in getting recognition for whatever progress is made, because he set such high and idealistic foreign policy goals at the outset of his administration.

In talks on strategic arms limitations (SALT), for instance, everything is measured against his proposals for "deep cuts" in U.S. and Soviet nuclear weaponry and his vision of an eventual abolition of all nuclear arms. In the Middle East, every twist and turn of the negotiations is held up against what some observers consider to be the impossible goal of a comprehensive settlement.

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Carter's boost for Concorde is a boot for his credibility

By Peter C. Stuart
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Although overshadowed throughout the summer by the question of Bert Lance, President Carter's recent decision on the Concorde super-jetliner symbolizes another budding credibility test for the Carter administration — one whose reverberations may prove even more enduring.

It is a test that strikes at the very heart of the determinedly different type of presidency Mr. Carter projected during his campaign: a president who would keep campaign promises ("You can depend on it"), who would subjugate foreign policy to domestic policy (although he has twice set aside his pledge of no overseas trips during his first year in office), and who would be the first Oval Office

unless barred by local airport officials, not only challenge these touchstones of the young administration, but leaves some doubts and questions about the government, according to interviews with those close to the decision.

During the presidential campaign a year ago, it seemed as if a decision already had been made. Mr. Carter told the French magazine L'Express flatly: "I do not favor the use of supersonic aircraft under foreign flags to the U.S. . . ."

His press secretary has repeatedly said the President considered the Ford administration's authorization of "trial flights" in Washington and New York to be a "mistake."

But this seemingly firm commitment was gradually eroded, according to knowledgeable sources, by a steady stream of foreign lobbying, chiefly by the French.

Included were at least one personal message and one telephone call from French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, a White House talk with French Prime Minister Raymond Barre, just six days before the decision was announced.

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Europe doesn't need Uncle Sam's help to cope with its Communists

Split in French Left shows U.S. anxieties to be exaggerated

By Joseph C. Harsch

Probably the most important single thing that has happened in the world for quite a long time happened in France the other day when Communists, Socialists, and radicals of the Left broke off their pre-election campaign talks.

They could not agree on a common election-campaign program. Their inability to agree dispels, at least for the moment, a big black political cloud over the heads of the French Government. But more important than that is the cloud it dispelled from over the heads of the leaders of the NATO alliance.

To appreciate the importance of the event, one should try to understand what would have happened had the three parties of the French Left succeeded in concerting their political program. United, they enjoyed an excellent prospect of winning the elections due next March. That, in turn, would have meant the French Communist Party inside the government and able to exert powerful leverage on both internal and foreign policy.

The experts argue over just how the French Communists would have used their leverage on national policy once they were inside the government. The Communists had called overtly for a "neutralist" foreign policy. The essential fact is that the alliance between the United States and Western Europe is based on the as-

sumption that the countries of Western Europe will be noncommunist in economic system, in domestic politics, and in military posture. Could the NATO alliance and the European Community survive with Communists inside the French Government next year and in other European governments later on?

No one can be absolutely sure of the answer. But it is a fact that for many months now the leaders of the Western alliance in government, in the Pentagon in Washington, and at SHAPE

Commentary

(Supreme headquarters, Allied Powers in Europe), in Belgium have spent many anxious hours trying to figure out what they would have to do. Military as well as political strategy has been based on the assumption that no major country in Western Europe would ever go communist.

The essential noncommunism of Western Europe is part of the foundation of the strategies not only of the Western alliance but of every member in it. It underlies American national grand strategy. Until recently this part of the foundation of NATO strategy was perceived to be in danger.

The essential date was Sept. 23. On that day, the leaders of the three parties of the French Left — Communist, Socialist, Left Radicals —

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World braces for Britain's chutney spill

By Gerald Priestland
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

London

I forecast heavy outbreaks of green tomato chutney in all parts of the United Kingdom this winter. It is the season of the chutney, the time when an Indian Summer fades and the first frost creeps nearer, gardeners are sadly gathering their harvest of unripe and unripeable tomatoes.

As is well known, the only thing to do with them — apart from hurling them at young men in sports cars who deliberately go into back wheel slides as they turn to corner in front of my house — is to make green chutney.

It is an admission of defeat, of course, and people who exclaim "Oh, good! Now we can make lots of green tomato chutney!" are pretending they are not growing their own grapes. The point of growing your own tomatoes is to enjoy their spectacular redness, and the true smell and flavor you never get with shop-bought tomatoes — which were prob-

ably picked last month in the Seychelles and sailed very slowly to London in gas-filled support tanks.

Last year, our crop was a bumper one. Despite the drought, we slowed pounds and pounds of them in the deep freeze. But this year the results have been few, small, hard, and obstinately green. "There's always a few days of late sunshine in early autumn," I assured my wife. "It would be crazy to pick them just before it happens."

But it hasn't happened yet and the nights have been getting longer and chillier. So the other day, I capitulated and went out to gather the fruits of the earth.

One has to do these things right. There must be a proper costume for tomato harvesting, Wellington boots of course, a hat and some kind of smock. My wife said I looked as if I was going mad. It hadn't been for the best on my arm. On second thoughts I might be going to gather free-range eggs from the farmyard.

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The gentleman carries a very pleasant whiff of home

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The economic rival of Western industrial nations looks for an imaginative key to international recovery.
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FOCUS

A Sunday stroll in Bonn

By Elizabeth Pond

In Germany, Sunday is for strolling. Bonn's Marktplatz and Münsterplatz are emptied of their weekday vegetable and flower stalls and the vendors shouting each other with their bargains.

Chairs and tables of the various cafes spill out farther over the cobblestones. A few motorcycles gun past importantly, but the delivery trucks that wedge their way through this pedestrian preserve on workdays are absent.

The department stores, bakeries, and bookshops have all been closed since they banged their doors shut as chimera struck 2 o'clock Saturday afternoon. But their displays still lure hundreds of window-shoppers to admire the latest fashions or vacation vicariously in Kenya.

Adults assess the worth of ubiquitous Oriental carpets, children flatten their noses on try shop windowpanes to gaze at electric trains with a pre-teenish fascination.

Dark, wood-paneled inns entertain an influx of newcomers as well as their permanent clientele of newspaper perusers and crossword-puzzle addicts. Bratwurst wagons and ice cream dispensers cater to

strollers who don't want to spend time or money on a full meal.

It is a blend of the quaint and the modern, the picturesque and the functional. The camaraderie of the 17th-century town square mixes with the chic of the 20th-century metropolis. Local residents who have just stepped out of their apartments mingle with strangers who have parked their cars (for a fee) or their mopeds (free) in the underground parking lot.

The accompaniment is a cacophony. Church bellfries call worshippers to vespers with a clangor of discordant bells. On one corner, a Salvation Army brass band plays hymns. On another corner a hurdy-gurdy man grinds out circus tunes. On a third, a student plays his guitar for the few marks given by passersby. One dog yaps — a poodle, perhaps, as the long-haired dachshunds are far too decorous to greet one another with anything more than a sniff and a wag of the tail.

Kiosk posters advertise the "Bonn summer" of outdoor programs: striving to prolong the summer that never came at all in this cold, rainy year. As daylight fades, workmen set up folding chairs in the Mark-

platz and install loudspeakers on the plywood platform in front of the baroque Rathaus. Children jump up on stage to turn cartwheels.

An audience begins to collect in anticipation of the evening show. It will probably be a pop concert, someone speculates, or perhaps a balalaika recital. No, counters a friend who has talked with one of the workmen, it will be Turkish dancers in their native dress.

The setting sun turns clouds rosy above the steep-gabled roofs. Those who have stopped walking button up their sweaters against the evening chill. But in the end the day vindicates the faith of the city planners: It doesn't rain, and a porcelain-blue sky even appears behind the clouds.

At last five performers appear, to confound all the predictions. They are dressed in 18th-century white wigs, pastel brocade jackets, lace cuffs, silk breeches, stockings, and bow shoes. They are the Bonn Wind Chamber Music Alliance, and they will play Mozart.

A grizzled tramp in the front row mutters over his bad luck in entertainment and shuffles off after the first movement. Open-air cafe customers hush their chatter. In the Chinese restaurant, a waiter sneaks a moment to listen at the second-floor window. More pedestrians wander into the square from side alleys, stop abruptly at seeing the anachronistic quintet, then smile and join the audience.

The music floats out over the square. The Sunday strollers are rewarded.

A nice bit of trivia — should go down a treat

By Gerald Priestland

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

London
On the days when you can't convict the media of sensationalism, it is usually possible to get them on a charge of triviality. Yet the fact is the major news is usually so awful, a nice bit of trivia goes down a treat with the public.

Take the case of Victor the giraffe, who fell over and couldn't get up again. Editors and an anchor-man thought it a good funny fall-piece to begin with. Laugh today, forget tomorrow. But then Victor neither got up nor passed out, and they felt obliged to issue further bulletins about his condition; the whole thing assumed the dimensions of a national vigil.

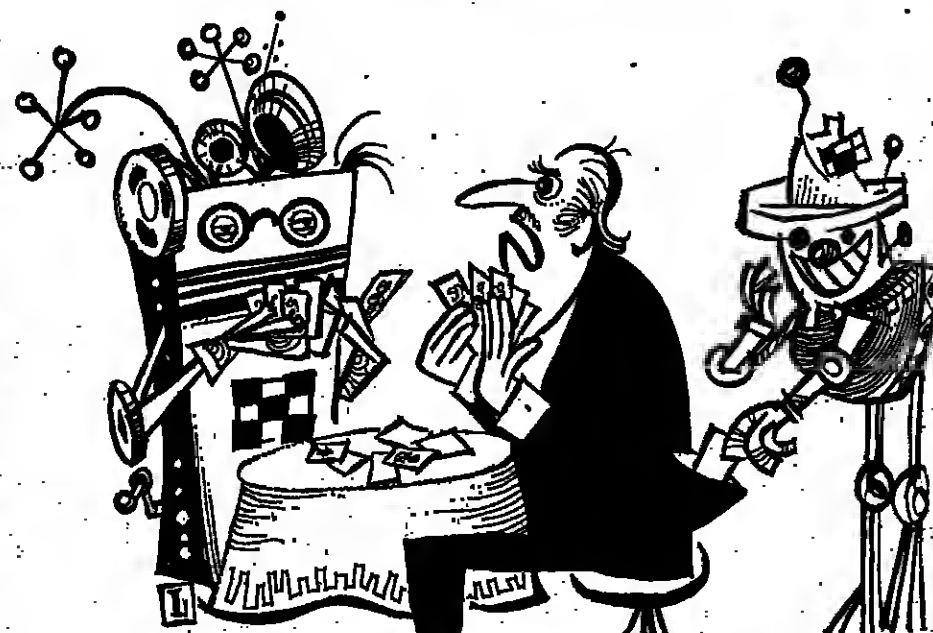
The zoo was jammed with mobile studios and camera vans, the zoo director was in a perpetual state of being interviewed, and the telephone hummed with good advice from all over the world.

Why? I think it was partly an attack of guilty conscience on the part of humanity for all we've done to the animals. And partly relief at getting caught up in a story with manageable dimensions. I don't mean that giraffes are particularly manageable in themselves, but that here was a problem that had some prospect of reaching a conclusion. It didn't go on and on like inflation or Northern Ireland.

Front-page big headline news tends to happen in a remote News World, far removed from what the rest of us inhabit. But there is a constant ding-dong battle between one's everyday life and what goes on in the remote corner of the world.

For example, the case of the five London men who were cleared of dishonesty obtaining a pecuniary advantage by deception, on the grounds that "you cannot deceive a machine." What they did was to drive up to one of those car parks that raises its boom when you stick a magnetic pass in a slot, and then drive into it on the tail of a car whose owner possessed such a pass. The machine, fooled to lower the boom, again when the magnetic field had gone through — just thought it was admitting an unusually long car.

I am told a similar effect can be achieved by the ingenious application of a metal bucket. But what was so pleasant in this case was the defense argument that deceit can only be practiced on the human mind. An argument which the police — ready as always to admit they were in the wrong — immediately accepted. It



"You cad, sir — you've been programmed with an extra ace"

does, of course, open up a huge field for (what shall I say?) "persuading" all kinds of machines, including telephone boxes and the automatic gates in tube stations.

And if anyone objects that the argument is pure sophistry, my reply is that it is natural justice. All day long machines rob and cheat us, give us wrong numbers, overcharge us, confiscate the money we feed them and refuse to disgorge any change. And if you criticize them, you are told they are only poor machines that know no better. So of course, but

Irish justice is equally broad-minded. Not long ago, the inhabitants of County Cork were honored to find that they had in their midst none other than the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Jamaica, enjoying his archiepiscopal vacation. Rigged in purple and extending a ring to be kissed, he moved among them with pious dignity, visiting the sick, celebrating a Mass, preaching a well-turned sermon. This went on for a week until one or two unworthy statements aroused suspicion. The Archbishop was looked up in the Catholic Directory and found wanting.

The Garda (or Irish police) interviewed His Late Eminence, but allowed him to leave. There would be no prosecution, they announced, for no law had been broken. Which was quite astonishing, especially when it was revealed that the impostor had previously admitted to a heavy beating to parts of North-San Diego.

He is now, believe it or not, in Berkeley. My friendland is on the staff of the BBC.

Sweden, U.S. test ways to store nuclear waste

By Judith Frull
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles

Deep under Swedish soil, experiments are under way aimed at casing a critical nuclear waste dilemma for the U.S. and other nations: where to store high-level radioactive waste from nuclear plants.

Spent nuclear fuel is the most lethal product of the nuclear-energy industry. At current usage rates, present storage space will be exhausted within 20 years, according to scientists here working on the Swedish-California project.

The \$12 million, three-year waste-storage experiment is being performed by a group of Californian and Swedish scientists as part of the National Waste Terminal Storage Program (NWTSP), the first field test of its kind on the effects of heat on recrystallized rock. It is jointly sponsored by the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) and the Swedish State Power Board, and is being conducted at the 400-year-old Stripa Mine at Stora, Sweden, west of Stockholm.

Because it is a preliminary research study, actual radioactive waste canisters will not be used. Instead, scientists from the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory at the University of California, will use electric heaters, monitored by on-site computers and set up to simulate the energy output of radioactive waste — five kilowatts initially, decreasing to less than 2½ after 10 years.

The experiments are intended to test the effects of the heat on granite and to determine

its suitability for storing the actual canisters. Only a rock mass in which there is little moisture and water movement would be adequate as a waste repository.

"The Stripa mine is an ideal site for experiments," says Dr. Paul Witherspoon, principal investigator and a professor of geological engineering at the University of California.

The overall ERDA effort is designed to identify sites in deep geological formations — in this case more than 300 meters deep — which may have the potential for storing nuclear waste.

Proponents of nuclear energy have long argued that the development of nuclear fuel technology is vitally needed to help avert future energy shortages. But the questions which cloud the nation's nuclear future include uncertain public acceptance — and the problems of storing spent fuel.

Over the years, government scientists have designed massive containers which were considered adequate to safely isolate nuclear waste from man and the environment. Last summer, ERDA conducted a successful series of tests at the Sandia Laboratories in Albuquerque, New Mexico to evaluate the safety of nuclear fuel shipments.

The storage facilities where waste fuels are currently being housed were designed from the beginning as the temporary solution to what scientists call the "back end" of the nuclear fuel cycle.

The problem begins when the fuel is removed from the reactor core and ends with either storage or disposal of the radioactive waste products.

See Germany — or jail — by bus

By Elizabeth Pond
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Bonn

Any foreign tourist who travels in West Germany should get a lawyer first. This is the conclusion I have reached while anticipating my coming jail sentence.

The public transportation system, it seems, is cleverly rigged to entrap any stranger into breaking the law.

Miraculously, I managed to escape all the traps for two weeks.

I had learned that tickets cannot be purchased on board subways and buses, but must be bought from vending machines in advance. With the help of a dictionary, I also had figured out that once on board I have to punch my own ticket to validate it.

Getting into the refinements, I had even discovered that red tickets are valid before nine o'clock and after 3:30, and that white multiple tickets require two of the chills (tickets) rather than the logical — I would have thought — one chills for one ride.

Pride went before a fall, however. I had grossly underestimated the willfulness of the public transportation administration.

The bureaucracy finally defeated me Monday morning, as I was on my way to a German-American conference to be held just outside Bonn.

As I was uncertain of the cost of the bus ride, I sought out the sole manned counter at the bus plaza and asked for a round-trip ticket to the Schloss Birlinghoven.

My destination was in Zone Two, which the BfA listed as costing one mark and 50 pfennig, or one ordinary fare.

I got on the bus, asked the driver to tell me when we got to the Schloss Birlinghoven, and punched my ticket familiarly. As soon as the bus began moving, the plainclothes inspector arose from his seat to check the passengers.

I suddenly handed him my ticket — and he pounced.

"Your identification," he demanded, I surrendered my passport, then — became alarmed as he began writing what looked suspiciously like a parking ticket.

"If my English is good," I asked what was wrong, and he replied triumphantly that I had only stamped my ticket once. Why I



should have punched the poor thing yet again, I still don't know.

With the help by now of two other passengers who spoke English, I recounted my efforts to ascertain the fare. But it was naïve of me to appeal to reason. I could only gasp in admiration at the inspector's single-minded concentration as he ignored me and continued writing out the inexorable fine.

Perhaps he, like Soviet bureaucrats, has a daily quota to fulfill. Or perhaps the coffers of the flagging West German economy need swelling, and this unannounced tourist tax can just turn the trick.

In any case, my fine notice — addressed to Very Honored Passenger — orders me to pay 20 marks (\$8) at the transportation office at 34 Theater Street within the week.

On a German price scale, that's not bad. A steak dinner costs more, even without the tip.

But still my leftover Anglo-Saxon sense of fair play rankles. I am disinclined to obey the injunction.

Nor do I wish, as one of my sympathetic fellow passengers recommended, to get a lawyer to contest the punishment. What I will do instead is hold out for a substitute prison term and see a slice of German life I would not otherwise have access to.

For the casual foreign tourist who does not have time to visit a jail in friendly Germany, however, it might be a good idea to get a lawyer. Or at least a car.

EC meets to grapple international terrorism

By Thomas Lund
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

London

Senior civil servants of the nine European Community countries met recently to start planning the establishment of an effective single police structure to fight international crime — especially terrorism.

At a London conference their ministers of the interior agreed that a framework should be built involving long-term cooperation between the individual national police forces enabling them to take coordinated action at a moment's notice.

Britain, West Germany, and Italy have been particularly keen to make the agreement practical as quickly as possible. Merlyn Rees, the British Home Secretary, has recently returned to London after consulting with his opposite numbers in Bonn and Rome.

Discussions leading to the present agreement have been going on for more than three years. The reason it has taken so long is that in Western democracies there is something sinister in the idea of a multi-national police force. Besides, many argue, that international crime should be handled by Interpol.

But the growing technological sophistication and organizational ability of international terrorism and the fact that some countries are using them as ruthless instruments of foreign policy, call for new strategy.

Britain and the scheme's other chief supporters consider that international terrorism with its indiscriminate attacks endangering the innocent can be contained only through international approach beyond the bounds of Interpol.

Sources close to the Home Office in London explain the need for a new organization to handle terrorism in terms of the extremely non-political nature of Interpol. Interpol, they say, is well suited to disseminate information about criminals on the run, but it is ill-equipped to handle crime demanding instant top-level political decisions.

Bonn sources compare the Community's effort

arate national police forces to those of the provincial states (Länder) of West Germany. They would be powerless in their struggle against the highly mobile and sophisticated urban terrorist cells without the coordination provided by an efficient federal machinery. The Germans hope eventually to establish a legal framework for such international cooperation within the Community.

Affluent West Germany has lived with urban guerrilla warfare for some years and in Italy, the flames of organized street terror are fanned by recurring economic crises. Both countries, like the rest of Europe, are impressed by Britain's record for the safe handling of terrorist attacks involving hostages and want wide international exchange of police information and experience.

During negotiations for the release of hostages in various European trouble spots senior British police officers have been at hand in an advisory capacity. The Interpol umbrella does not provide for cooperation of that sort.

"The coordination of police forces will be arranged within the framework of a convention this year by the Council of Europe (comprising the Community plus Austria, Cyprus, Greece, Iceland, Malta, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey). It may at last discourage some countries, especially those in North Africa and the Middle East, from providing asylum as well as arms, money and organization base for terrorists.

For the convention will enable the European Community to speak at international forums on terrorism with a single voice and, perhaps more important, to link trade relations with good conduct in this increasingly sensitive sphere. If Europe's joint approach against organized international crime works, other groups of countries may well establish similar regional structures.

Thomas Lund is a foreign correspondent associated with The Financial Post in Toronto and with The Times, The Observer and The Financial Times in London.

Europe



Oak Ridge, Tennessee
Accumulated nuclear waste cooling under water
By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

At the same time, in Washington, Congress is pressing toward approval of a plutonium-breeding nuclear power plant at Clinch River, Tenn., against the strong opposition of President Carter.

In the United States, spent nuclear fuel is collecting in temporary storage tanks at 62 power reactors. If breeder technology is developed, these spent fuel elements would become a valuable feed stock, according to scientists.

But if breeder and reprocessing technology is developed later than anticipated, these spent fuel elements will require alternative long-term storage.

United States

'Let's keep the gas guzzlers,' says Congress

By Harry B. Ellis
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
Washington

Hopes that Americans might begin to use less oil and natural gas are fading, as Congress already has reduced President Carter's energy conservation goals by more than half.

"When we took [the Carter plan] into the House in April," said a senior administration official, "the program called for saving 5 million barrels of oil daily by 1985."

So far, he said, Congress by its actions has stripped at least 2.5 million barrels daily of those savings, with the Senate Finance Committee still chipping away at the program.

Projections by the U.S. Treasury, meanwhile, based on current oil consumption trends, anticipate still higher oil imports by the United States in years ahead.

Oil imports this year, costing Americans roughly \$45 billion, are plunging the 1977 U.S. balance of trade more than \$25 billion into the red, with government officials becoming increasingly concerned about the effect of this record deficit on the economy.

Analysis note that increasing oil imports put greater pressure on the White House not to alienate Arab oil producers, who now provide about 42 percent of all petroleum imported by the United States.

The House-passed energy bill treated the President's program relatively kindly, but still reduced potential savings from coal conversion by the equivalent of nearly 2 million barrels of oil daily, by White House estimate.

Coal conversion refers to Mr. Carter's plan, now partly frustrated by Congress, to impel industrial users of oil and natural gas to switch to more abundant coal. This would have been accomplished partly by imposing heavy taxes on continued industrial use of oil and gas.

In the Senate, where the whole energy bill still is snarled in heated debate, further cuts in other elements of the program have shrunk conservation hopes by nearly an additional million barrels daily.

Several congressional and other studies of the President's energy program claim Mr. Carter was overly optimistic in energy savings and that, even if passed intact by Congress, conservation goals would not be met.

Putting all this together, the final energy package emerging from Congress will provide for potential savings much smaller than Mr. Carter had hoped for when he termed the energy crisis "The greatest domestic challenge our nation will face in our lifetime."

Little sense of urgency appears to have gotten through to the American people, who in the summer just past set new records for gasoline consumption.

The government itself, some observers note, may have contributed to a sense of ease when the Federal Energy Administration assured the public that gasoline supplies would be ample to meet summer driving needs, even on peak holiday weekends.

Have-nots have more, reports World Bank

By Harry B. Ellis
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
Washington

Robert S. McNamara, citing "impressive" economic growth by some developing nations, says that "40 million of the world's poor people will have had their incomes doubled through [recent] rural projects of the World Bank."

But, says the World Bank president, continued progress depends on the ability of industrial lands to buy more goods from countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, struggling to expand their exports.

"The prosperity of developing lands," Mr. McNamara told reporters, "depends greatly on the prosperity of OECD," the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, a 24-nation organization including the world's leading industrial powers.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) reports that growth of industrial nations is faltering, marked by high unemployment, persistent inflation, and the beginnings of trade protectionism — shutting out other countries' goods, not taking more.

Growth of OECD member states will average less than 4 percent next year, according to latest projections, not enough to lower domestic unemployment, much less offer expanded markets in the goods of developing lands.

The world economic picture, then, is mixed, as top finance and trade officials of 131 nations gather in Washington for the joint annual meeting of the IMF and World Bank.

The litany of problems facing industrial lands is familiar. Less so is the record of economic growth achieved by many developing countries, despite a fivefold increase in the price of petroleum in the last four years.

Taking the developing world's economic record over the last quarter-century, Mr. McNamara says, "it surpasses the performance of the present industrialized nations for any comparable period of their own development."

He cites the following:

- Between 1970 and '75 the population of developing countries doubled. So did their per capita income.
- On average the annual rate of growth of per capita income in developing nations was 3 percent.
- Longevity in these countries increased from 40 to 50 years.

But, he notes, there was a "distortion" of growth between the poorest lands, housing 800 million people "living on the margin of life," and "middle-income" developing countries. The latter grew more than the average; the

poorest lands, less.

Despite their greater need, the poorest lands get less foreign aid per capita than richer developing countries, Mr. McNamara notes.

Why?

"Because," he says, "the poorest lands are not creditworthy" and must rely chiefly on limited funds of the International Development Association (IDA), the soft-loan window of the World Bank. Middle-income countries, by contrast, qualify for full-interest World Bank loans, as well as loans from private banks.

Meanwhile, Mr. McNamara says he "feels comfortable" with World Bank progress in helping the rural poor, but "uncomfortable" about the situation in teeming urban areas of the great sweep of underdeveloped lands.

In rural areas, he says, "you can identify a target, the small farmer. Technology is available to increase his productivity."

All-volunteer army makes for efficiency — and skyrocketing expense

By Judith Fritlig
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
Santa Monica, California

An independent, four-year study of the U.S. military services has found that despite earlier concerns, the all-volunteer defense force works — but the cost of military manpower has skyrocketed from \$22 billion in 1964 to \$50 billion last year.

The reason cited: while the voluntary military has proved more "economically and socially equitable" than the draft system which preceded it, the military has carried over costly problems with outdated manpower policies, which alone carry a price tag to U.S. taxpayers of \$5 to \$10 billion annually.

The study, scheduled for release Sept. 28, was made for the office of the Secretary of Defense by the Rand Corporation, a private, nonprofit "think tank" located here in southern California.

According to the study, the major factors in the rising costs of military manpower include:

- Civilian defense employee expenses — up from \$6 billion in 1956 to \$20 billion projected for 1978.
- Military retirement costs (paid out of current budgets) — up from \$477 million in 1956 to more than \$9 billion for 1978.

According to the Rand study, the military should:

- Revamp the retirement and pension system.
- "One of the first things our country did after World War II," said Dr. Richard Cooper, a senior Rand analyst, "was generate a pension that lets a serviceman retire after 20 years' service. That means if he retires at 40 and lives until he's 75, he's paid for 35 years — longer than his term of service."
- As a measure of the seriousness of the problem, Dr. Cooper predicts that unless retirement policies are amended, the costs (which have grown from 1 to 7 percent of the defense budget in the last 20 years) will consume 12 percent by the mid 1980s.
- Revise the ratio between career personnel (those with more than four years' service) and first-term enlistees. "The real payoff isn't more enlistees," said Dr. Cooper, "it's more people who are prepared to make the military their career. People who will become really experienced in their job."
- "The military has always relied on a very [young] force," he added. "Part of the rationale stems from the notion that combat soldiers have to be a youthful group. Well, that's forgetting that only 10 percent of the enlistee force carries rifles. The other 90 are mechanics, electronics experts, electricians, and medical corpsmen."

In the course of the study, Dr. Cooper found that since the all-volunteer force (AVF) was implemented, cost-effectiveness debates have turned to other issues: the cost of military manpower, the quality of the AVF, its ability to attract enough recruits, and whether it is representative of American society — or a "mercenary" force.

The findings, said Dr. Cooper, dispute the following widely held beliefs:

1. An all-volunteer Army would be an all-black Army. Cited, said Dr. Cooper, point out that blacks in the armed forces were 8 percent of all new enlistees or draftees in 1960 and 12 percent in 1974. But "an increasing proportion of blacks are meeting the qualifications for service — from 12 percent who were classified as average or above average mental aptitude in the mid-1950s to 45 percent today," he said. "The number of blacks entering the military would be about the same under either system."
2. Quality of manpower would drop. "During the draft," Dr. Cooper said, "20 percent of all the people coming in the front door were classified as below average mental aptitude. Today it's 8 percent." The percentage of enlistees who have failed to finish high school has remained roughly the same since 1960.

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United States

Prosperity heads South

By Gary Thatcher
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

A major shift in federal monetary and fiscal policy is under debate here. The change is being propelled by the economic upsurge of the South and West, relative decline of the North, and the growing scarcity of energy and natural resources in the U.S.

As New York Gov. Hugh Carey told a conference of academicians and government officials last week, "We can't change the amount of sun and warmth that you have in this part of the country. We've just got to adjust for it."

Said Victor Haisner, a deputy assistant secretary of the federal Department of Commerce, "The administration has realized there is a need for subnational [regional] development."

Both comments came at a conference on alternatives to confrontation between various regions of the U.S., being held here.

Although much of the discussion here is couched in economic jargon, these major themes have emerged:

- In order to prevent further economic decline in the North and Midwest, the federal government must — in addition to manipulating the nation's economy — also adjust the economy of specific regions.

- The Carter administration, caught up in "crisis management" nine months after the inauguration, has not yet formulated economic policies to deal with unemployment, the decline of central cities generally, and the decline of Northeast and north-central states specifically.

- Federal manipulation of the money supply affects national consumer buying power, unemployment and inflation, but it fails to target specific areas in the economy, such as unemployment among black youth and the de-



City of San Antonio, Texas By a staff photographer

The livable South

cline of New England towns saddled with out-moded factories.

- The scarcity of natural resources, the disappearance of cheap energy, and the higher cost of running environmentally "clean" businesses is pushing industry into geographic areas where operating costs are lower and energy and natural resources are more abundant. That generally means the South and West. As Illinois Gov. James Thompson says, his state was "a good location to be in 60 or 70 years ago."

What Carter has achieved so far

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

The Washington view of the Carter legislative program is an oddly contrasting one.

There is a major focus here now on the President's faltering energy legislation and the snags his social-policy hills are running into in Congress.

But at the same time there is a general recognition that Mr. Carter has been able to put into effect a particularly heavy load of legislation.

- An economic stimulus package that provides for an increase of 2 1/2 times in public-service employment, \$4 billion in public-works jobs, \$1.5 billion in youth unemployment money to pay for 250,000 jobs; and \$4 billion in permanent tax reductions, most of which go to moderate, middle-moderate, and low-income families.

- Reorganization authority for the executive branch.

- Extension of revenue sharing.
- Creation of the energy department.
- Signing of the strip-mining bill the administration supported.

- Legislation mandating fuel economy for autos.

Also, by the end of the 95th Congress the President expects to get a flood of proposals enacted into legislation, including the following:

- Public financing in congressional elections; lobbying disclosure; civil-rights reorganization reforms, setting up of a consumer protection agency; an allans bill; wire-tapping legislation; codification of the criminal code; a pre-screening program for screening poor children with

health problems; welfare reform; tax reform, social-security funding legislation; new adoption and foster care provisions; a new minimum wage law; corporate bribery legislation making it a criminal act for American corporations to extend bribes; labor-law reform; oil-spill liability legislation; an urban-action grant program; the airline deregulation bill; and aircraft noise legislation.

Also, the administration will have composed and hopes to have made a strong start toward passage of its overall urban policy plan.

The Carter administration has moved fast to implement its reorganization authority.

It has abolished about one-quarter of the advisory commissions that existed when the President took office.

It has commenced reorganization projects in some seven or eight major areas including civil rights, human resources, and local economic development.

And it has begun to institute zero-based budgeting in the executive branch.

In recent weeks the President's particularly vigorous push for new legislation has been obscured by the press spotlight being thrown on the Lance affair.

Also, the strong emphasis given the President's effort to get the Panama Canal treaties ratified has tended to upstage what he is doing to deal with priorities on the domestic front.

Further, the President's problems in the Mideast and his struggle to consummate a new arms-limitations agreement with the Soviets have both diverted public attention from his legislative accomplishments — achievements which not only include getting Congress to go along with a large percentage of his initiatives but also involve a display of inventiveness and hard work that has gone by largely unnoticed.

Carter to show the flag on whirlwind world tour

By Daniel Southard
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington President Carter's whirlwind trip to eight nations and four continents this autumn will amount to "more symbol than substance," according to White House officials.

But the President hopes, among other things, to "set a new tone" through the trip for U.S. relations with developing countries, officials say. The trip will symbolize a shift, they say, away from what is described as a Ford administration tendency to ignore third-world nations.

"It will dramatize our interest in some areas of the world — Latin America, black Africa, India — which have been neglected," said one administration official. "This is something which a president can do better than anyone else."

In a briefing prior to the announcement of the presidential trip Sept. 23, Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's national security adviser, listed four objectives for the trip: (1) the conduct of important bilateral business; (2) understanding traditional ties with allies; (3) improving relations with countries of growing importance in the third world; and (4) demonstrating a U.S. willingness to cooperate with countries

whose systems differ from those of the United States.

But other officials said they doubted much significant "bilateral business" could be conducted by Mr. Carter on a trip which will allow him little more than a day in most of the countries he will visit. The trip will take the President to Venezuela, Brazil, Nigeria, India, Iran, France, Poland and Belgium over a 10-day period, from Nov. 22 to Dec. 2.

The announcement of the trip has generated considerable criticism within the ranks of the Carter administration. Some officials believe that it will divert the President's attention for too long from more important problems on the home front. They note that three out of the previous four American Presidents became preoccupied with foreign affairs after coming to office and that Mr. Carter now shows signs of moving in that direction.

The President has said, moreover, that he planned to remain in Washington during his first year in office.

Mr. Brzezinski's answer to this was less than totally convincing to the critics.

"On the one hand, you know, the President is at home and he has stayed at home," the national security adviser said.

"This is really the second trip he has taken," he continued, referring to the President's trip

to London last May for an economic summit meeting with leaders from West Europe and Japan. "He has been at home otherwise all the time."

Dr. Brzezinski said the trip was timed for late November because, for one reason, Congress will be adjourned at that time. Next year, Mr. Carter is expected to have his hands full with congressional elections and lobbying for ratification of the Panama Canal treaties.

In answer to criticism that the announcement of the trip might have been designed to divert attention away from the Baril Lance affair, administration officials have been stressing that preparations for the trip were under way a full month before Mr. Lance resigned as head of the Office of Management and Budget.

The thinking behind the trip bears the stamp of President Carter's relatively upbeat view of

America's prospects for being on the side of change in the world — influencing it rather than fighting against it.

In visiting Nigeria, Africa's most populous nation, the President will provide a dramatic demonstration of the shift that has occurred under his administration toward emphasis on sympathy for the black African countries and black African nationalist movements. Nigeria is a country which less than two years ago rejected a proposed visit by then U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

The fact that the President will be welcomed to the West African nation is indicative of the improvement in U.S.-Nigerian relations which has occurred under the Carter administration, thanks partly to the efforts of the U.S. Ambassador 10 the United Nations, Andrew Young.

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Christmas comes early to Mrs. Carlisle, thanks to Freddie Laker

By Lance Carden
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Freddie Laker, gadfly of the international airline industry, has given Mrs. Ellen Carlisle of Bournemouth, England, an early Christmas present — five months with her daughter and granddaughter in Tecumseh, Oklahoma.

Mr. Laker didn't give Mrs. Carlisle a ticket on one of his jetliners, but his new "no frills" transatlantic air fares have made an extended U.S. visit affordable to her for the first time.

Mrs. Carlisle arrived here Sept. 26 aboard what some are calling an historic flight — the first Laker Airline bargain-basement jetliner from London to New York. Her \$236 roundtrip ticket shaves more than \$100 from the price of transatlantic tickets sold by any airline prior to

recent U.S. and British approval of Mr. Laker's new "Skytrain" fares.

"In the past, I could only afford excursion-lane tickets that allowed a maximum three-week visit," Mrs. Carlisle said at Kennedy Airport here.

Mrs. Carlisle, whose happy eyes and ready smile make her seem fit company for the many young people aboard Mr. Laker's first

Skytrain flight to New York, says she didn't mind waiting in line for about two days to make sure she got her ticket.

"I feel like I've been to a lovely big party because everyone was helping each other and we became very friendly," she said. Other passengers echoed this sentiment.

For Irene and Robert Cave the first no-frill Skytrain flight from New York to London (also on Sept. 26) has special significance: It helped Mr. Cave decide the time had come for his family to leave their home in Norwalk, Connecticut, and return to England in stay.

"As soon as I saw the ad in the paper, that was it," explained Mr. Cave, who in May emigrated to the U.S. with his wife and three sons from Cambridge, England. Mr. Cave waited 15 hours for the Laker ticket office in Queens to open at 4:30 a.m. on Sept. 26. At 4:20 he had his ticket and he departed with his family and 340 other passengers on a fully-booked flight shortly before midnight.

Despite enormous advance publicity, however, the London-New York flight carried only 276 passengers, leaving some 69 seats empty.

After arriving at Kennedy Airport 40 minutes late in stormy weather, Laker officials aboard the flight learned that President Carter had just approved lower transatlantic airline fares for six of their competitors including Pan Am, TWA, British Airways, Air India, Iran Air, and El Al.

But Mr. Laker appeared unfazed by the news or the weather. "I think we've got the best show in town, and more important, we've got the public behind us," he told reporters.

The Lance case: How will it read in history books?

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

The Lance case now becomes an event for historians to assess. Did it severely mar the Carter administration? Or was it only a relatively minor distraction to be dealt with in a historical footnote?

Whatever the long-range perspective on the episode, it seems that the President's decision to let his embattled budget director go was an extremely "close" call, one that apparently turned on the following factors:

- The reassertion by Senate majority leader Robert C. Byrd that Mr. Lance should resign.

- The continuance of new allegations against Mr. Lance.

New testimony was released by the Senate

Governmental Affairs Committee that suggests Mr. Lance actively sought to clear his record with federal bank examiners before his nomination to head the Office of Management and Budget was announced.

And there was a new charge that Mr. Lance has used a campaign loan to pay his wife's debts.

It thus became obvious to the President that the Lance case was not going away — that while Mr. Lance's days of testimony may have rallied a considerable amount of public sympathy and support, it had not put the matter to rest. In fact, the heat on both Mr. Lance and Mr. Carter seemed to be intensifying.

- Among the President's advisers — presidential assistant Margaret Costanza openly, but others too, who were not speaking out publicly — some were taking the position that Mr. Lance would have to go, that he had become

too much of a liability for the President to bear any longer.

- The presidential confrontation with Congress over the disposition of Mr. Lance was also intensifying, perhaps threatening the outcome of the President's most-desired measures and legislation.

For example, Mr. Carter needs every senator he can get to vote for ratification of the Panama Canal treaties.

This includes those senators on the panel that has been questioning Mr. Lance — and most notably Abraham A. Ribicoff (D) of Connecticut and Charles H. Percy (R) of Illinois — whose feelings have been bruised as they pushed for the Lance resignation and the President and Mr. Lance fought back.

- Finally, Mr. Lance himself apparently decided that he had become too much of an embarrassment to the President — that it was time to go.

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By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

The harsh side of apartheid

as repressive by blacks and some whites. South Africa's Afrikaner-led government has of its disposal a whole network of regulatory laws to ensure separation of the races. These include:

- The pass laws, under which a black may not visit an urban area without a reference book (pass) for more than 72 hours unless he or she has lived there since birth, or has worked there continuously with one employer for at least 10 years or has lived there lawfully and continuously for 15 years. Every year between 300,000 and 400,000 blacks are convicted of pass-law violations.

- The Group Areas Act, under which whites, coloreds (people of mixed race), and Indians can live and operate businesses only in areas assigned to them. Since blacks are already confined to African townships or homelands, this measure inflicts the greatest hardship on coloreds and Indians who are forcibly relocated out of areas designated "white."

- The Industrial Conciliation Act, which in effect reserves jobs above a certain level for whites. (Blue-collar white workers are among the most enthusiastic supporters of this act.)

- The extension of the University Education Act of 1959, which closed to nonwhites those universities open to them and established separate universities for blacks (the Universities of Fort Hare, Zululand, and the North), coloreds (University of the Western Cape) and Indians (University of Durban-Westville). Some white universities have voted recently to admit nonwhites for courses not available in nonwhite universities.

- The Population Registration Act, which enforces the classification of every South African as White, Bantu (black), Colored, or Asian (Indian).

- The Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act, which ban marriage or sexual relations between members of any of the foregoing groups.

Burdan of enforcement

A further regulation that hits blacks is their disqualification from land ownership outside the designated African homelands. This means they cannot own land in the townships adjacent to white urban areas, even though those townships are called "African." Coloreds and Indians, however, can own land in the urban group areas assigned to them.

When it comes to enforcement of the security laws, the burden falls mainly on the South African police, whose commissioner, Gen. G. L. Prinsloo, wrote in his annual report for the year ending June 30, 1976, of "the onslaughts and the threat of onslaught on public order in the republic." The report shows the strength of the police force as 17,709 whites and 10,038 nonwhites. The 72 nonwhite officers in the latter total included 44 blacks.

General Prinsloo wrote in his report: "The number of policemen per 1,000 inhabitants of the republic with its heterogeneous population is a mere 1.34. Compare this... with 2 per 1,000 of the population in England, 2.1 in the U.S.A., 2.7 in West Germany, and 3.5 in Israel, a country which is also faced with serious problems. It ought to be clear that this state of affairs cannot be permitted to continue indefinitely, or, as during the past few years, to



Kruger: heeds police end prisons

"In order to remedy the matter, considerable expansion is imperative." (Supporting the police, but less in evidence, is the Bureau for State Security, or BOSS, headed by Gen. Hendrick van den Bergh. This is the South African intelligence or secret service, whose duties, according to General van den Bergh, include ensuring "the continued existence of the ruling order in all its consequences and dimensions.")

The continuing unrest in Soweto and elsewhere produces strain on the individual members of the police force, a majority of whose white members are Afrikaners rather than English-speaking South Africans. Afrikaners temporarily away from their homes in police barracks adjacent to Soweto were quoted to this writer as saying such things as: "We ought to have killed them all [blacks] when we first landed here, as the Americans killed the Indians," or "We shall fight them as ruthlessly as our ancestors did during the Great Trek —

but this time without the Bible in the other hand."

Dr. Molana, the Soweto community leader, told of his recent visit to a black school in the community and seeing a young boy who his arms locked round his teacher's waist screaming to the teacher to get the police off him as the police beat him with their truncheons. Meanwhile, Dr. Molana said, other children were trying to escape over a wire fence around the school as police dogs lunged at them. (This occurred at one of the more troubled moments of the current school boycott, during which blacks and the police have made charges and countercharges about who initiated outbreaks of violence.)

Torture charges denied

Mr. Kruger reacts indignantly to allegations that his police interrogators torture detainees. Yet young blacks held by the police for questioning insist that they have been tortured. Mr. Justice Howard said during a Terrorism Act trial in August — referring to the death of Joseph Moll in detention in March, 1976 — "The most probable explanation is that all or most of [his wounds] were inflicted by the security police."

Mr. Kruger said to this writer: "The first parrot cry of a man in court is 'I've been tortured.'"

To others who have raised the question of alleged suicides in detention, Mr. Kruger has retorted that the prisoners have followed the usual Communist instructions to commit suicide to avoid giving away others or some crucial information. When this writer asked the Justice Minister about it, he replied that there are two arguments. Either the police pushed men through windows to their death — and that is nonsense. Or the police pushed men through windows to get information from them — and that is equally nonsense, because dead men could give no information.

In a recent editorial, the Rand Daily Mail commented: "As each death happens, so much concern deepens. It is not enough for the government to say that the security police are nice people who would not dream of hurting a fly, let alone a political suspect. Nor does it suffice to say that it is all part of a communist suicide conspiracy."

Fourth in a series.

Rhodesia: the many paths toward black rule

By Tony Hawkins
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Salisbury, Rhodesia
A convention of African politicians, businessmen, religious and labor leaders has decided to designate October as "Unity Month" in Rhodesia.

The two-day Salisbury convention called by the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, leader of the African National Council, appears, however, to have made little progress along the unity road. Some of the other nationalist groups — Robert Mugabe's ZANU, Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU, Bishop Abel Muzorewa's BANC, or Chief Chirau's ZUPU — made an appearance, arguing that the whole affair was aimed at building Mr. Sithole's image rather than black unity.

For all that, Mr. Sithole has some modest gains to show for his performance since he returned here from exile two months ago. A handful of Bishop Muzorewa's top advisers have changed sides and joined his party, and he claims to be picking up widespread grass-roots support as well.

No way to check

Unfortunately, it is impossible to quantify these gains. Mr. Sithole himself says that until there is a one-man, one-vote election in Rhodesia, no one will know who commands the most popular support.

White Rhodesians say that all the evidence points to Bishop Muzorewa commanding majority support, probably followed, especially in the western half of the country, by Mr. Nkomo. Mr. Sithole probably would rank third, and the militant Mr. Mugabe would come at the bottom in the poll. But these are nothing more than informed guessimates, and it would be foolhardy to read too much into them.

Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Mugabe, for example, prefer to remain outside Rhodesia and have joined forces as the Patriotic Front, in which capacity they undoubtedly can muster substantial black support within the country.

What is important about the fast-changing Rhodesian situation is the growing gap between those nationalists operating legally within Rhodesia and the nationalist guerrillas based in neighboring Lusaka, Zambia, and Maputo, Mozambique.

Terms accepted

The Salisbury-based nationalists all have accepted the Anglo-American settlement proposals brought here by British Foreign Secretary David Owen and U.S. Ambassador to the UN Andrew Young — admittedly with some reservations, but they are not seeking major changes. The Patriotic Front, which is supported by the presidents of the so-called "frontline" nations of Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, and Tanzania, has accepted the terms as a "basis for discussions" but



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Still plenty for white Rhodesians to cheer about — on the rugby field fans waving atrew hats for their team

wants radical changes in the transitional arrangements, changes that would give the front's guerrillas a major if not a dominant role during the transition to black majority rule.

In Salisbury, it is argued that the front is demanding these changes because it knows it would lose any genuinely free elections. The view from Salisbury is that in the weeks and months ahead, the Western powers will have to make a choice between the whites and the relatively moderate nationalists at home on the one hand and the more militant elements outside the country and their frontline backers on the other.

Armed forces laeua

It is almost inconceivable that there can be any compromise between the whites and the Patriotic Front on the critical is-

sue of the composition and control of the Rhodesian security forces during the transition period. In two television interviews this week in which he struck a notably more conciliatory line than hitherto, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith showed himself willing to negotiate the details of the Owen-Young package without demanding major changes aside from the issue of law and order during the transition.

The present suggestion — that the guerrilla forces form the basis of the Rhodesian Army after an agreement, but with some "acceptable" elements of the existing forces being retained — is clearly unacceptable not only to Mr. Smith but also to the nationalist moderates here who have no army to support them and who, understandably, fear that their electoral chances would diminish if their political rivals were running the armed forces.

A minority view

An influential minority believes that if Mr. Smith were to bargain hard on the law-and-order issue and buy the rest of the Anglo-American package, regardless of its many distasteful elements (so far as his supporters are concerned), then there might just be a chance of heading off the Marxist threat and securing a relatively peaceful transition to black rule.

This scenario is dependent on two developments. First, that Mr. Smith really moves, rather than talking about moving, toward agreement. And second, that the British and U.S. Governments make the choice that eventually must be made between the men with the guns in the Patriotic Front and the men in Rhodesia who claim to have the votes — Mr. Sithole, the Bishop, and James Chikarema, the Bishop's newly returned deputy.



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Speaking at the Natal provincial caucus of the ruling National Party in Durban recently, Mr. Kruger said 2,430 people had been detained under these laws since the first outbreak of trouble in Soweto in June, 1976. Of these, 870 had been tried and convicted. Another 118 were awaiting trial, and 372 others were still having their cases investigated.

Referring to the Internal Security Act (which took the place of the former Suppression of Communism Act), Mr. Kruger said 135 people had been held under its provisions, and 40 leading figures had had their activities restricted to counter "their subversive activities." The Justice Minister did not say what had happened to the rest of the total of 2,430 detained, but presumably they were released.

Under the security laws, the South African police have powers to detain people without trial for successive periods of 180 days without trial and in solitary confinement. The courts may not intervene. The South African Institute of Race Relations put out a statement in early August saying that 570 persons were being so held.

Lesser categories

Less stringent laws dealing with "house arrest," limiting restrictions on movement, and "house arrest" usually involve confinement to a particular district, reporting to the police and not being in the company of more than one other person outside the immediate family. House arrest is just that, although sometimes for 12 rather than 24 hours a day.

Mr. Kruger does not have to give reasons for any decision he takes under these laws, and his decisions cannot be effectively challenged. It is sufficient for him to believe that he is acting to prevent the spread of communism or the furthering of any of communism's objectives.

A black community leader from Soweto, Ntando Molana, told foreign newsmen in August that using communism as a bogey was in the ego-old Afrikaner tradition of trying to scare somebody with a "gogga" (an insect invoked to frighten people rather than boys frighten girls with a spider).

Range of regulations

But in addition to all this legislation, viewed

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United Nations

Gromyko's annual address: a minimum of barbs

By David Anahie
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
United Nations, New York

The Soviet Union has unveiled a foreign policy outline here that appears to combine toughness with a readiness to be forthcoming.

In his annual address to the UN General Assembly, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko delivered a blunt, public rebuke to what he called President Carter's "sermonizing" on human rights and sharply warned the United States against deploying the cruise missile.

But the essence of his speech to the representatives of nearly 150 countries was a sweeping, almost nostalgic, reaffirmation of détente.

In this vein he acknowledged that "some progress" was achieved in last week's talks in Washington on limiting strategic arms; he announced his country's unilateral decision to suspend underground nuclear tests even before such a treaty had been concluded; he said the Soviet Union would try to ensure that the forth-

coming European security conference review in Helsinki would proceed in a "constructive way", and he put forward yet another in the long line of Soviet disarmament proposals here.

As for the Middle East, the Soviet Foreign Minister took trouble to refer in more explicit terms than usual to Israel's right to exist.

But he left no doubt as to the Kremlin's strong views about Mr. Carter's handling of détente, comparing it adversely with the cooperative successes of the late 1960s and early '70s. Recently, he declared, Soviet-American relations have experienced stagnation. If not a downright slump.

In particular, he said, "any attempt at sermonizing us or, still worse, at interfering in our internal affairs under contrived pretexts has encountered and will encounter a resolute rebuff." It is high time, he added, to realize that acting in the spirit of "psychological warfare" would at best poison the international atmosphere.

In a passage that he reportedly rewrote at

the last moment, the Soviet Foreign Minister agreed that the strategic arms limitation talks he had with U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance earlier last week in Washington made some progress in bringing the positions of the two sides closer together. It is very important that the talks be completed successfully and without delay, he stressed.

However, he blamed the U.S. for the two governments' failure so far to follow up on the Vladivostok accords reached under the Ford administration. Avoiding any mention of the Soviet Union's new "Backfire" bomber (which has been one cause of disagreement in SALT negotiations), Mr. Gromyko instead blamed the failure specifically on the U.S. decision to deploy the cruise missile.

"Yet another channel for the strategic arms race is being opened, and, of course, it would be naïve to think that the other side [the Soviet Union] will passively watch this development," he warned.

Mr. Gromyko repeated the Soviet affirmation that it would do all in its power to bring

about a settlement in the Middle East. He described the area as the most dangerous remaining "hotbed of war" in the world.

Stating a carefully balanced Middle Eastern position, he repeated Soviet support for the participation in Geneva on an equal footing of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel. He spelled out more specifically than usual Israel's "right to exist as an independent sovereign state." This would appear to leave a nudge at the PLO, which so far has refused to recognize Israel's existence.

Mr. Gromyko vigorously defended his country's policies in Africa. "We seek no privileges for ourselves, nor do we covet concessions, bases, or impose on African countries a world outlook," he assured his audience, who contained the representatives of more than 30 black African countries. However, he could resist two sharp jabs.

One was at those who "clamor" for human rights; southern Africa would provide the world with a "boundless field of activity" where they connive with racism, he said.



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United Nations

Desert conference: generous advice, stingy money

By Ian Steele
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor
Nairobi, Kenya

Now that the United Nations Desertification Conference is over, its achievements and shortcomings are being weighed.

It produced a plan of action that left the conference secretary-general, Dr. Mostafa Tolba, and the traditional aid donor countries outwardly satisfied that their chief objectives had been met.

It was agreed, for example, that the United Nations Environment Program should be the international coordinating vehicle to combat desert problems and should provide policy guidance and biennial reports to the UN General Assembly.

The UN program also was invested with a desert-watch capacity of sorts, to keep a inventory of desert programs around the world, monitor and evaluate the conference's plan of action, and identify financial gaps in it.

The conference also urged the developing countries to give priority to desertification problems in their requests for development assistance and asked that existing financial institutions inside and out of the UN system review their priorities accordingly.

In fact, almost every continuing responsibility for world desert problems was passed along to some other level of review.

Having demonstrated their considerable capacity to restore arid lands, the monied coun-

tries — East, West, and oil-rich — then left Nairobi with their credibility largely intact and their checkbooks in balance.

No one was more disappointed about that than the African group, which had provided the impetus for the conference during and since the long Sahelian drought of the early '70s.

They were welcomed to Nairobi with a reminder that desertification is a global problem and that resources to combat it are consequently spreading thin. Thus, it is basically up to the Africans, the financial participants said, to evaluate their problems, define their priorities, strengthen public awareness of the need for ecologically sound land management, and formulate an anti-desertification strategy.

When the Africans realized they would sim-

ply be handed an 80-page plan of good intentions and nothing in strict money terms to back it up, they rallied on the last night of the conference with a motion to establish a special desert account to finance the action plan. But no sooner had they mustered 37 votes to 18 in favor — with 18 abstentions — than they were informed that the major donor countries would boycott the fund financially.

The conference in this way highlighted the fact that donor countries will no longer support special UN funds and their inevitable bureaucracies, and emphasized the Western view that countries committed to their own aid programs cannot afford to rearrange their priorities to meet the multiplication and endless dictates of UN conference themes.



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Middle East

Lebanese cease-fire: everyone wins something

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

The cease-fire in southern Lebanon, hot on the heels of Israel's qualified acceptance of Palestinian representation at a resumed Geneva Middle East peace conference, has something in it for virtually everybody directly concerned. But whether it will do more than temporarily ease tensions remains to be seen.

The following are among the benefits which accrue from these twin developments:

For the United States: Proof (which it will hope other parties recognize) of American ability and will to put sufficient diplomatic pressure on Israel to get from it both a concession, albeit conditional, on the question of the Palestinians and a cessation of military intervention in southern Lebanon. For President Carter, this is a valuable plus when he is in difficulty with some of his other foreign-policy initiatives.

For Israel: An opportunity to refurbish its image as being seriously interested in peace and willing to go to a Geneva conference instead of seeming — particularly since Menachem Begin became Prime Minister in June — so hard-nosed as to be obstructing a settlement.

For Lebanon: An opportunity — if the cease-fire holds — to proceed with the introduction of the reconstituted Lebanese Army, largely re-equipped at U.S. expense, into southern Lebanon as a peace-keeping force between the Litani River and the Israeli border. Since the end of the Lebanese civil war, there has been continuous fighting in the power vacuum in this area between Israeli-backed, hard-line Christian rightists and Muslim Palestinian forces.

For Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia: Evidence that the United States is concerned

to meet their continued moderation — as opposed to the intransigent stands of such "rejectionists" as Iraq, Libya, and the more extreme Palestinians — with a sincere American effort to get Israel to the conference table in Geneva within a framework and with an agenda acceptable to moderate Arab opinion. (There has yet to be some sign from these moderate Arab governments that Israel's latest concession on Palestinian representation at Geneva is in any way acceptable to them. The initial reaction is at least suspicious.)

For the Palestinians: Relief at least from the pounding which both the hard-line Christian Lebanese rightists and the Israelis had been giving them for nearly two weeks — apparently in an effort to ensure Lebanese Christian control of key positions on communications routes within Lebanon before the new Lebanese Army moves in to take over. Simultaneously, if the cease-fire holds and Israel refrains from further involvement inside Lebanon, those Palestinians wanting to be more responsive to U.S. overtures — and they reportedly include Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasser Arafat — could point to the effectiveness of U.S. pressure on Israel. They would argue that the way to get more of it is to go along with, rather than spurn, U.S. efforts to get all parties to Geneva.

Yet getting all parties to Geneva remains a challenge. All Arab governments have till now recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate voice for the Palestinians. The PLO as such is anathema to Israel. So there is that hurdle still to get over. Another is Palestinian disdain for UN Security Council Resolution 242 because it avoids specific reference to Palestinian or their rights. (The resolution refers simply to the refugee problem.) Israel is reluctant to consider any modification of or addendum to Resolution 242. The Palestinians insist on it. If the resolution is to be the basis of any proposed Geneva conference.

There is also the stumbling block of Israeli Prime Minister Begin's hard line on withdrawal from the West Bank of the Jordan — or Judea and Samaria as he calls the area — to underline what he believes is Israel's scriptural right to it.

The cease-fire, announced unilaterally by Israel, officially came into effect midmorning, local time, Sept. 26. All reports confirm that the United States — and particularly the American Ambassador in Beirut, Richard Parker — played a key role in negotiating it. Shortly before the cease-fire went into effect Sept. 26, the Israeli towns of Safad and Qiryat Shmona were once again hit by rockets fired from the Lebanese side of the border. Within Lebanon, some sporadic shooting continued, but travelers reaching Beirut from the area said that the fighting was dying down. On the Israeli side of the border, Israeli tanks, armored personnel carriers, and "dust-covered, unshaven" Israeli troops (as United Press International described them) were seen coming back into the country from Lebanon.

Israel Radio quoted Defense Ministry sources as saying that the cease-fire agreement gave the troops the right to reenter Lebanon if fighting broke out there again. Israel's overall aim, of course, is to keep Palestinians as far away as possible from the border and to seek to be arbiters on what goes on along the Lebanese side of it — by a form of remote control.

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Treasures in danger

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Iraq has appealed to 11 international groups to help rescue remnants of its ancient Sumerian, Assyrian, and early Islamic civilization from flooding by a new lake between now and 1981.

In Baghdad, Dr. Issa Salma, Iraqi Director General of Antiquities, invited UNESCO (the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization) and a number of foreign archaeological groups with experience in Iraq to help save ruins threatened by the Hamran Dam, now being constructed about 10 miles east of the Iraqi capital.

The area contains many traces of the Sumerian, Assyrian, and other ruins of the period between 6,000 B.C. and the 18th century A.D., Iraqi news agency reported.

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Japan's search for the millennium

The economic fall of Western industrial nations looks for an imaginative key to international recovery

Individual sacrifice may no longer be sufficient to lift the gloom of recession, says one Japanese leader who thinks the times require taking man 'into a new dimension' where he may feel that resources are limited but that his ability to cope is not.

By Tekashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

"If only we had some marvelous new invention that would take the whole world's breath away," the government official said.

We were sitting in a low-level Japanese restaurant along one of the few remaining canals in Tokyo. A kimonoed waitress had just shuffled to the pièce de résistance — a bamboo basket smoking with freshly grilled trout, spitted on sharp bamboo sticks and loosely wrapped in fragrant bamboo leaves.

The host was what most journalists would call a "high government official." Several times a month he flies to Washington, Brussels, or Paris, for consultations and negotiations with his counterparts on a wide variety of topics — from inflation to nuclear proliferation. A serious, hard-working bureaucrat, he is not the kind of person to indulge in flights of fancy.

Yet, as he diagnosed the world's economic ills and how to surmount them, his fundamental prescription was not economic. Rather, it had to do with lifting men's spirits, in his country and around the world.

"Whether in Japan, or America, or Britain," he said, "we've tried the orthodox solutions, and none of them have worked. Why? Because all of us lack the confidence that is required to make them work."

"Each of us has our individual and national selfishnesses, our reluctance to make the sacrifices necessary to bring the world out of recession."

Feeling of finiteness

"But that is not the fundamental point. The fundamental point is that we have accepted that we live in a world of finite resources, that we have no power to change the environment in which we live."

"For many years, we thought resources were practically free, that man could control his own environment. The oil shock showed us how fragile were our assumptions. We can cope with a quadrupling or quintupling of oil prices. What we haven't managed to cope with is the belief that resources are limited, and the consequences of that belief."

"That's why I say we need a new invention. It

doesn't have to be a Japanese invention. It could be an American one. Or French. Or German. Or from anywhere in the world. For instance, that someone were to invent a car that didn't run on gasoline. That's an example. Basically, what I'm looking for is an idea — to counter the idea of limited resources that's made all of us so depressed and angry. If we could show once more that resources are not limited, that our environment is not hostile to us, what a takeoff we would have!"

His eyes glowed as he spoke. The hum of the air conditioner behind me, the blackened beams supporting the restaurant's roof, the drowned out roar of construction on the banks of the canal outside his room, where each waitress still moved in the old line of 80 Utamaro print, survived in Japan that predated Commodore Perry.

"Poor again!"
Listening to my host, I was reminded of a conversation with a Tokyo taxi driver about the height of the oil crisis that followed the Israeli war of October, 1973.

"Now we'll all be poor again," he had said. "Just when I finally began to get used to it. I have a color television set in my air conditioner. I have a car. My wife and I, I know, I cannot get for a very long time. Land prices are outrageously high. I don't think about that. Otherwise, I'm not taking the

wife and kids on weekend trips. We were even thinking of a holiday in Hawaii."

"But now I don't know," the driver had said. "Oh, well, it's not so long ago that I didn't have any of the things I've told you about. I know how to be poor. I haven't lost the habit of work."

That attitude, multiplied 110 million times, meant that every Japanese tightened his belt, accepted longer working hours, produced more goods with fewer hands, and spewed those goods out around the world, piling up enormous trade surpluses for Japan and rousing cries of anguish and outrage from manufacturers and labor unions in the United States and Europe.

Today, the "high government official" thought, Europe and Japan are on the verge of a collision. Japanese exports continue to mount, and measures Tokyo has taken to restrain its outflow of cars, steel, ships, and electronic goods can be but palliatives at best.

"You're depriving our workers of their jobs," the Europeans cry.

Essence of capitalism

"We produce more because we work harder and are more efficient," the Japanese reply.

"Isn't that the essence of the capitalism and the free trade that you taught us?"

"Normally," he said, "when you see a collision coming, you slam on the brakes. At the very least, you take your foot off the accelerator. But in this crisis, we almost seem to be bystanders, saying

"Oh, dear, oh, dear," right up to the moment of the crash."

"Our politicians are too busy running after votes at home. They just don't see the international implications of what Japan is doing. Our government's remedies are unimaginative."

Relations with the United States, he continued, are somewhat better. For although Japan's trade surplus is substantial, it imports large amounts of American grain, coal, timber, and other raw materials. But a trade war between Europe and Japan would be certain to affect American-Japanese relations as well.

Of the \$7-billion package Tokyo has announced to help stimulate the economy, the government official thought it might work for a few months or perhaps longer, but that ultimately the country would run up against the question of confidence that bedevils it today.

"Why do we export so much? Because people at home don't buy goods the way they used to," he said. "Most of them have satisfied most of their needs — at least in the context of their present environment. Sure, they can spend more on clothes, or on food, or on expensive toys. But they have to live in matchbox houses or pigeonhole apartments, hours from the center of town."

Deplorable situations

"They save at astonishing rates, because they know their retirement allowances will be pitiful. Our hospitals are appalling. Our education is a

mess. We've got to spend much, much more on social welfare, on the kind of thing that in Britain or West Germany is taken for granted."

"But most Japanese don't know this. We have to take man himself, Japanese man, into a new dimension, where he has a new view of himself and his environment. That new view will create new needs, qualitatively different from the needs of today."

"Then, and only then, will there be a new spurt in capital investment and in production. Then, and only then, will imports soar, partly to feed production, partly to cater to the much more varied and sophisticated wants of the Japanese consumer market."

As he talked, waitresses silently padded in and out of the room, bringing dish after exquisite dish, culminating in a corbelled filled with melon, papaya, mango, peaches, and pears. Imports, most of them, but not enough to tip Japan's balance of payments the way its partners would like.

"And so," he concluded, "if I were prime minister, if I were going to spend \$7 billion to reflect the economy, I would put at least half that sum away into a special fund to set up a top-notch research and development facility. I would scour the world for scientists to fill the facility. And I would tell them, 'Your task is just to invent something that will take our breaths away.'"

'A new Henry Ford?'

"Does all this sound too much like a dream? Well, maybe. It's the kind of dream, though, that America used to be very good at realizing. Maybe that's what the world needs — a new Henry Ford."

We emerged, eyes blinking, from the cool, low-ceilinged interior of the restaurant into the hot glare of a late summer afternoon. The waitresses who had so gracefully served us during our meal bowed the way to my host's air-conditioned Toyota.

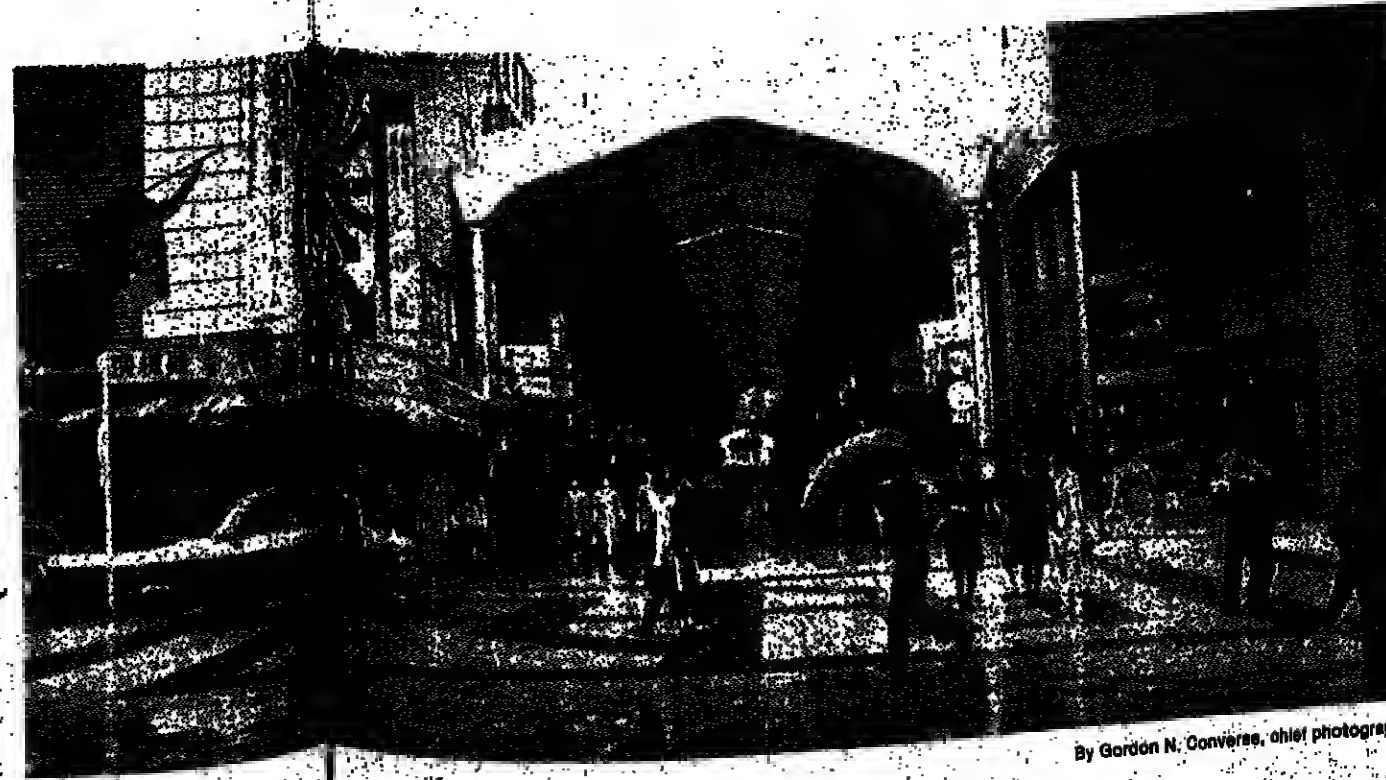
From American Fords to home-built Toyotas good enough to capture American and European markets — that was an impressive leap for a people to whom the rickshaw was an amazing invention a hundred years ago.

Today, the century-long struggle to catch up with the West has ended with a vengeance. A reluctant, somewhat bewildered, disoriented Japan is being pressed by its Western partners to act like a rich man and share the responsibility of managing the global economic community.

What new leap is required to open up the cozy, enclosed room in which the Japanese have guarded their inmost way of life, their own peculiar blend of East and West?

Will science, the material science on which the government official plus his hopes for Japan and the world, measure up to his expectations?

In the end, as he admits, it is all a question of ideas.



By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Shoppers splash by thoroughly modern mall in Hiroshima

Traditional mon or family badges



By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer
Curtain time at Tokyo's Kabukiza Theater



'Paris is for people'

By Philip W. Whitcomb
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

It sounds clever to say that since cities are made to be lived in you can't really know one until you've lived there. But it's not true. Not even in Paris.

The Seine and Saint Martin's canal, the narrow ancient rue des Bernardins and the broad Champs Elysées, the Esplanade des Invalides, even the Eiffel Tower, and the Défense with its gardens and fountains trapped between skyscrapers — each has something to tell the passer-by.

Throughout all the Paris — for there are scores of them — the listening walker and the sympathetic sifter sense a dominant affection for the common people even where glorification of a hero was the builder's obvious first motive.

It was Napoleon himself who planned to cut the Saint Martin's canal through Paris to ease river loads the ten-mile loop past Notre Dame and the Bois de Boulogne. But as in all planned parts of the city, promenades and parks for everybody, or other proofs that Paris is for people, were included.

Napoleon's plan for a leisure center round the basin of la Villette at the junction with the Canal de l'Ourcq was only partly realized. But today people are again getting first consideration in a reconstruction of lake and park there. Few walks provide so intimate a contact with the people's Paris as the promenade along the Saint Martin's canal — even though over a mile of it goes underground, near the site of the Bastille.

The new Villette also converts the site of Paris' ancient slaughterhouse and its fantastically useless, gnomish, and now demolished postwar replacement, into a place for people. And the same Parisian process of humanization will be noticed by anyone who walks slowly through the ancient quarter of the Marais, now exaggeratedly fashionable, to the site of the famous Halles, for centuries the early morning central food market of Paris.

Where Victor Balzac's huge yet graceful iron pavilions (one has been re-erected near Paris) stood for a century a colossal hole is now being filled by a sort of four-level town with several main-line terminals, metropolitan and suburban subway and tube lines, shops,

amusements and cultural centers, all to be roofed over with gardens and trees.

On one side stands beautiful Saint Eustache, with its world-famous music, and on the adjoining side the great circular building on the site that once belonged to Catherine de Medici (the towering pillar from which her astrologer made his observations and calculations still stands), later the Paris grain market and now the commodities exchange.

Typically French, the first official plan for the reconstruction of this site of the old Halles was to make it "the business center of the world." Typically again, this idea faded and was replaced by what Paris is to eschew a Forum, for people. Nearby is a startling new monument to French faith in the common man, a participatory museum for the masses, planned by a French president, Georges Pompidou.

The Pompidou Center is a five-story universe, opened several months ago, filled with exhibitions, books and audiovisual equipment, all freely available (except for the small fee charged for some temporary exhibits) to everyone. Oddly enough, though internally it expresses a sort of next-door-folks friendliness, its exterior, planned jointly by the Italian architect and the English architect who won the international competition, gives a feeling of next-doorness only to those who live next to an oil refinery. The building is wreathed in scaffolding, escalators and multicolored conduits, hard to understand and impossible to clean.

Sooner or later the visitor to Paris will inevitably arrive at the Défense, latest and most unexpected expression of the Parisian affection for people. From a distance it seems to have been lifted from the lakefront at Chicago, or from Farly-Second Street in New York. That's not the way it is.

The Défense is a hill at the end of an absolutely straight and open five-mile avenue that begins at the Louvre and Tuileries, passes the Arc de Triomphe, descends the avenue of the Grande Armée. There it breaks into and ends in a circle on the face of the hill of the Défense, where the invading Germans were held for several months in the 1870 war. The north half of the circle carries fast-flowing traffic for Natterre and Saint Germain; the south half, the returning traffic for the bridge and Paris.

But inside the circle's two-mile circumference there is no traffic whatever, except for an occasional child's bicycle. Bus lines pass underneath and there is an underground system



Afternoon at the opera, Paris

By R. Norman Mathany, staff photographer

of roadway, and a series of five-level car parks for many thousands of vehicles, the entire area being served by a score of escalators and elevators.

Within the circle are 18 or 20 high-rise office buildings. One beautiful structure of over fifty stories, property of an Arab company, is even named "Manhattan." Thirty or forty yards away, separated on one level by the "Place of

the Iris" and on the level above by the "Terrace of the Iris," with flowers, bushes and a view, is the small sister, a ten-floor apartment house with the illogical name of "Manhattan Square."

No streets and almost no straight lines; trees, birds, even a dog's toilet, little gardens and seats at the bottom of the unexpected stairway, a children's playground, pools and fountains, and one level or another, but always above the motor traffic levels, shops, cafés, banks and travel agencies.

Bisecting the circle is a wide esplanade from which a series of terraced steps descend toward the river. On one side of the esplanade is a gigantic exhibition hall covered by the world's largest arched roof. On the other side a commercial center is being built, to open in three or four years. Beneath the esplanade at one point is an art gallery of which all the exhibitions, so far, have been free.

The large pool on the esplanade is filled with a battery of fountains that can be played from a keyboard, like an organ, in harmony with the concerts that are given, free, during many months and on some evenings. The view of this new Paris disturbs some people, and alarms those who dread the effect that American urban architecture has had on the entire world. Yet even the disapproving, once they enter the circle of the Défense, are aware of the same motive, the theme, that dominates the other side of the Seine. Paris is for people.

comparable meal. One young English couple won his admiration for their passion for Bermuda seafood — self-caught every day.

"They were here for three weeks," Mr. Crookwell recalls, "and every morning they went fishing first thing, right here at the bottom of the garden. They got the bulk of their meals for the price of a few charcoal briquets, I reckon."

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*Uncle Sam not needed to cope with Communists

announced their inability to agree on a common campaign program for the coming national elections. All expressed the hope that efforts to find a basis for agreement would continue. No further talks were scheduled.

The French stock market boomed. NATO headquarters in Brussels breathed an audible sigh of relief. Generals and admirals at the Pentagon in Washington are said to have cast grateful glances upward. President Carter announced that he would be stopping off in Paris on his next world tour. French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing watched happily as his own stock went up on the political exchanges.

Talk swung over at once from the likelihood of a government of the Left to the possibilities of a coalition of the Giscard center with the Socialists, leaving both Gaullists of the Right and Communists of the Left on the outside.

How did all of this come about?

Not, be it noted, because of any threats from Washington. Here was another example of Western Europeans solving their own political problems by themselves without outside interference. (Portugal was the first example of a happy solution to a political crisis without Washington interference. Spain also has

worked out its internal political problems free of Washington.)

It was Washington that in this case threatened reprisals in the event of Communists entering the French Government, could this happy outcome have occurred? Almost certainly not. Over Washington interference probably would have produced exactly what Washington wanted least. The outside help that turned the scales came, ironically, from Moscow.

The Kremlin has been preaching a tough and intransigent line to the Communist parties of Western Europe ever since June. It started immediately after the Spanish elections. Its first

target was Spanish Communist Party leader Santiago Carrillo, who has pursued the most independent line of the group.

Of late it has been turned against the French party. This has resulted in stiffening the French Communist line inside the coalition of the Left. It reached the point where the French Communists insisted on a program of nationalizations that neither Socialists nor Left Italians could accept.

In other words, Moscow, not Washington, broke the coalition of the Left in France that had caused such concern for so long in Washington.

*U.S. foreign policy: no rabbits out of hats

"We've raised the level of expectations so high that we feel as though we've got to pull a rabbit out of the hat every month or so or nobody will believe we're getting anywhere," said a White House official involved in national security affairs.

Here is a rundown on where the diplomatic movement can be either clearly seen — or just barely discerned:

• Strategic arms negotiations. One positive sign was acknowledgment from the usually dour Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, after a meeting at the White House Sept. 27 with President Carter, that there has been some "narrowing of the differences between the two sides."

Having earlier seen their hopes for progress dashed at high-level meetings last March in Moscow, American officials are being extremely cautious in their public statements on this one. But privately, one well-placed White House official stated after the Carter-Gromyko

meeting: "It's working out... it's really quite encouraging."

The Soviet news agency Tass Sept. 28 referred to the Carter-Gromyko talk as "constructive" — a warmer description than any disarmament dialogue has merited this year. Monitor Correspondent David Willis reports from Moscow.

[Tass also said that the "position of the sides... drew nearer." But it is not yet clear whether the draft Gromyko language is meant to propose including the neutron bomb in any treaty. The U.S. position has been that the neutron bomb is a tactical not a strategic weapon.]

There are also some signs of promise in the talks which have just begun with the Soviets in Washington on U.S. and Soviet naval activity in the Indian Ocean. President Carter has set forth the goal of "demonstrating the Indian Ocean, and there are some signs of movement in the talks about to resume in Geneva on a

comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty.

• Middle East. The U.S. seems to have done much in the way of effective "quiet diplomacy" in securing a tentative cease-fire in southern Lebanon. It has become clearer in recent days that its positions — as well as those of the Arabs — are still wide apart from those of the Israelis on all the issues which concern the Palestinians. But some observers see hope in the fact that the U.S. has managed to nudge Israel into accepting Palestinian participation in a unified Arab delegation at the opening of any resumed Geneva peace conference. This concession, which some expert observers admittedly regard as a mere tactic and no "concession" at all, could nonetheless provide the U.S. with the opening it needs to keep the "peace process" going.

The relatively moderate Syrian reaction to Israel's agreement to limited Palestinian participation in a peace conference is seen as highly significant by American officials. The

Syrians have consistently held a more informed view of Israel's ultimate intentions, and their attitude is regarded as critical to the process of getting full-scale negotiations started. President Carter's meeting on Sept. 28 with Syria's Foreign Minister may prove to be an important test of Syrian attitudes.

• Southern Africa. The main glimmer of light seems to be the endorsement which the U.S. and Britain have obtained from the "front line" African presidents for the appointment of a UN representative by the UN Security Council to deal with the Rhodesian problem.

American officials say further that they have reason to believe that if the Security Council agrees to the appointment of a representative, the white Rhodesian authorities would be willing to enter into discussions on military matters with that representative.

Olds against compromise are great, but one American official says "there is some momentum."

*Carter's boost for Concorde a boot for his credibility

noised, and the conspicuous involvement of national-security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski.

Despite Carter's self-imposed order of priorities — "A crucial prerequisite of an effective foreign policy is in restoring the confidence and morale and commitment of our people in their own domestic affairs" — insiders say foreign policy prevailed in the Concorde case.

"Diplomatic matter"

"It was handled more as a diplomatic matter than as an environmental matter or anything else," says one government official with a long involvement in the Concorde issue. He says the administration was jittery over the

threat of a parliamentary victory in March by French Socialists and Communists, as well as of antagonizing the French into stepping up worldwide sales of nuclear materials.

Concorde-witners in Congress tend to agree. An aide to Rep. Leo J. Ryan (D) of California, an opponent of the plane whose subcommittee has been holding hearings on the issue, underscores the role of "international relations and national security," particularly "the French domestic political situation."

Seemingly relegated to a secondary role were the Carter environmentalists. This is ironic in an administration whose President had once pledged, "Whichever there is a conflict

between development and environmental quality... I will go for beauty, clean air, water, and landscape."

"Just overruled"

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and environmentalists at the Federal Aviation Administration, one congressional source claims, "were just overruled." The director of the FAA's Office of Environmental Quality, Charles R. Foster, denies it, but concedes that "we have environmental concerns about noise."

The resulting decision, while predictably welcomed to Britain and France (which Mr.

Carter will visit in November), has left bruised feelings in noise-saturated airport neighborhoods and in the ranks of environmentalists who had once been cooed among the President's staunchest supporters.

The largest grouping of official environmentalists, the EPA, is reported by one official to be "just livid" over being inadequately consulted. A similar reaction comes from groups of residents in many of the 13 potential new destination cities for the Concorde.

Such resentment is likely to echo and re-echo in coming months during a series of hearings on the issue by the Department of Transportation and Congress.

*World braces for Britain's chutney spill

But who are like that. If you go out to pick tomatoes in your normal dress — pajamas, dressing-gown and bedroom slippers — they make a fuss and insist on your wearing something special. If you do put on something special, they mock at it.

I went up the garden, put the basket down among the vines. But is "vine" right? Americans would say vines, but perhaps the English would think that pretentious and implying grapes. As a matter of fact, I did have grapes in mind. Secretly, I was imagining myself the owner of a tiny, choicest vineyard on the right slopes of the right hill in the chateau country, querringly choosing "le moment juste pour la récolte, hein, mon brave?"

I'm not quite sure how they do harvest grapes — with scateurs? acaisors? little folks

alikes? — but I do know that ripe tomatoes are supposed to come away in your hand when you just lift them gently. I had to fight for every one of these mean green golf-balls, but when it was over there were precisely three red ones in the basket, and almost 12 pounds of potential chutney. In the circumstances it was just as well the crop wasn't heavier: 12 pounds is an awful lot of chutney.

It takes a deal of making, too. First you slice the tomatoes up, then you put in a lot of onion and shallots and chopped up apple, then you add vinegar and sugar and spices, and then (as the book puts it) you bring to the boil and simmer until there is no spare liquid but the whole mixture has become a uniform mass.

Easier said than done. The trouble was, the spare liquid wouldn't go away. If we turned the gas up to high the chutney threatened to burn, and if we turned it down low it lost no liquid at all. This is a very unsettling thing to have on one's mind. No one was able to concentrate on any other business the whole evening.

That chutney went on all about four in the afternoon and stayed on till almost midnight. By that time my wife was edging up to an outburst of hysteria and threatening to tip the whole mess into the dustbin. Also, the house was saturated in acrolein aromas like an oriental bazaar, and when I wore my overcoat next day the aromas came with it. Several Pakistani gentlemen in the tube (turned) and smiled at me encouragingly.

We boiled the chutney in a stupor and rolled into bed. The problem we left till morning was: what to do with it? A kind of semi-official edict went out (rather like the Callaghan gov-

ernment's new non-existent-voluntary-compulsory wages policy): chutney to be taken with all possible means. Whatever we're eating, there's my wife hopefully pushing the jar towards me: "Chutney dear?"

It's not actually bad chutney. Really, it's quite good. But familiarly has bred nausea rather than contentment. It is just possible to eat green tomato chutney with bacon and eggs, green tomato chutney on toast and oven-baked beans. But it does not do well with porridge, minestrone or whitebait, and it is rotten on buttered crumpets.

Our elder daughter is migrating to Japan for a while, so we gave her a farewell party. My wife did one of our special curries, which I thought was appropriately oriental — as near as our repertoire gets to Japanese cooking. And then I realized it wasn't that at all: it was because with curry one serves — chutney, of

course. Our guests got through a whole two-pound jar.

Actually the Japanese are going to be a great help to us, though they don't know it yet. Our daughter has had quite a number of Japanese visitors to her flat in recent months, and remembered they all had brought little gifts with them for her. "I shall have to take lots of typically British presents to give to them now," she said. "I can't give them all tea towels with Westminster Abbey or the royal Corals, though."

My wife and I exchanged furtive, crafty glances. "We have just the thing," we said.

So now five pounds of green tomato chutney — gift-wrapped with Union Jacks stuck all over the jars — are on their way to Tokyo. And we're ready for repeat orders if it's a success.

Mr. Priestland is on the staff of the BBC.

Swedes warm to Andrew Young

Washington

America's UN Ambassador, Andrew Young, who accused the Swedes of being "racists" a few months ago, has been invited to Sweden this month for what promises to be one of the warmest overseas receptions he has ever received.

It turns out that Mr. Young's comment that the Swedes treat blacks as badly as they are treated in the New York borough of Queens offended a lot more people in Queens than it did in Sweden.

As a Swedish diplomat explains it, many Swedes have a warm place in their hearts for Martin Luther King, with whom Mr. Young was closely associated during the civil-rights struggle in the South.

"It sounds funny, but the comment about racism actually helped him in a way in Sweden," the diplomat continued. "I put him on the map... it was refreshing in a way."

arts/books

New York, New York

Musicals are alive again

By David Sterritt

"New York, New York" is a wonderful town, as the song goes, but it's only the heck-ground for Martin Scorsese's new movie about a man, a woman, their love, and their music. It's a romance, a comedy, a psychological drama, a nostalgic dream, and a '40s jukebox rolled into 2½ hours of smashing entertainment. All these tears and laughs from the man who gave us last year's nastiest masterpiece, the violent "Taxi Driver."

Robert De Niro plays Jimmy, the sax player — a talented reed who says what he thinks but rarely thinks about what he says. Liza Minnelli

Film review

plays Francine, the singer — a bright and energetic woman with a consciousness quite "raised" by 1940s standards. They meet on V-J Day, when New York is one huge party and anything can happen. They get their act together in a dingy Brooklyn club, and soon wend their way to the big time using her connections and his clout.

The marriage in all smiles and melodies at first, but ruthless sax players with big mouths don't always make the best husbands, and Francine is too smart to be held back. Their new baby and her blossoming recording career put too much strain on the relationship and turn the movie's last hour or so into an emotional wrestling match that may throw you if you've been too charmed by the first half. Yet the characters remain real, and fascinating even when the mood turns dark, and the picture's jazz-driven pace scarcely falters, no matter where the plot may wander.

Scorsese, one of our most gifted and vers-

tile younger filmmakers, has a ball with the nostalgic rhythms of "New York, New York," which extends from the optimistic postwar '40s into the cold-war alienation of the early '50s. As in one of his earlier hits, "Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore," the director doesn't always take proper care to unify atmospheres and devices into a smoothly flowing whole, and some scenes suffer from cuteness or self-consciousness. More relentless editing might have helped here, and also brought the picture (written by Earl Mac Rauch and Mardik Martin) to a more manageable running time.

Still, the movie's fine brassiness makes us dazzled participants in its melancholy interludes as well as its showy jokes and lavish production numbers. The music alone could have carried me happily through a movie with half as much narrative intelligence. Though this is Scorsese's first tussle with the musical format, he has carried the stunt off brilliantly. Each number is "motivated" — part of the action rather than an interruption — which adds immeasurably to the show's veraciously while steeping us in song and dance from one scene to another. The numbers themselves range from classic big-band jazz, stunningly played, to a quartet of now songs (by John Kander and Fred Ebb) as good as any the movies have given us for years.

Miss Minnelli does most of the singing, with a grace and enthusiasm only just born in the celebrated "Cabaret" that made her a full-fledged star. De Niro learned to play a saxophone well enough to synch his on-scene playing convincingly, but the actual sax sounds — so urgent and heady that I can't imagine jazz or rock can not falling under their spell — were provided by George Auld, a big band veteran who also served as the star's off-camera



Robert De Niro, Liza Minnelli, William Fichtelberg

'New York, New York' celebrates V-J day again

Instrumental coach and plays a bandleader in some early scenes. Between them these musicians have created a thrilling complement for Scorsese's visual work; and I wouldn't be surprised if "New York, New York" became the model for a whole new kind of movie musical.

Behind the splendid acting of the two stars, a good supporting cast also deserves to share in the credit. Lionel Stander plays a gruff old agent, the kind of show-biz standby given to homely advice like, "Slay off the junk, kid, and you'll go far!" The talented Mary Kay Place

has a bouncy few moments as the other woman and the other singer in Jimmy's life. Barry Primus is smooth as a rival musician, and Diahann Abbott (De Niro's wife) has a standout moment singing "Honeydew Rose" in a Harlem night spot.

As different as "New York, New York" is from such searing Scorsese works as "Mean Streets" and "Taxi Driver," it shows his continuing concern with the outsider, the dropout, the man or woman who doesn't quite fit in with the rest. Jimmy and Francine, the saxist and the singer, are fighting quite seriously for a place to live, and breathe among the amusingly poked-up sets and cardboard trees and ersatz snow of this keening Hollywood fable. This is one of the key elements that sets it aside from, say, the shallower histrionics of the recent "A Star Is Born" remake (a film which should keep people away from "New York" despite some superficial story similarities). Regardlessness about the edges notwithstanding, Scorsese's latest is a bold and beautiful winner. Suddenly musicals are alive and well again, but they'll never be the same.

legator and writer.

Unlike most writers of memoirs, Miss du Maurier is neither startlingly self-revealing nor self-impugning. There is no record here of the young writer's romantic agony. The young du Maurier is adventuresome, independent, tough, and talented — qualities which are the sinews of her fiction as well.

Daphne du Maurier as a young writer

Growing Pains: The Shaping of a Writer, by Daphne du Maurier. London: Gollancz, £4.75.

By Lorraine Serravalle

"We can never go back again, that much is certain. The past is still too close to us." These words of caution are uttered by the narrator of one of Daphne du Maurier's best-selling novels, "Rebecca." Heedless of the warning, Miss du

publication of her first novel in 1931. The daughter of a renowned theatrical and literary family, Miss du Maurier was prepared for authorship in a way that was idyllic and ideal. Spacious manors, giggling nannies, a Parisian finishing school, and reams of pink blotting paper all helped to shape the young writer.

Persons and person mags in these memoirs. Characters, events and objects in early life are transformed through imagination and become the subjects of Miss du Maurier's fiction. The owner of an old schooner at harbor in Cornwall becomes the protagonist for a first novel. Memorable, a rambling old house with secrets, becomes Mandarley, the site of yet another novel. Miss du Maurier views characters and objects through the corridor of time, and re-creates their histories. Place is an important shaping factor as well. A diary entry reads, "People and things pass away, but not places." Miss du Maurier's imaginative bent is the Cornwall she knows so expertly, both as nav-

Book review

Maurier journeys back in memory to recapture and re-create her early imaginative beginnings. The memoirs span 22 years, from first primer to first publication.

Through the years Miss du Maurier has acquired a coterie of devoted followers whose love for romantic suspense fiction and broad historic vistas has increased steadily since the

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education

Even three-year-olds can understand Rembrandt

Museum expands young imaginations

By Keith Collins

Special to The Christian Science Monitor



By Keith Collins

Boston
"Do you notice anything funny about this statue?" asks the teacher. Fifteen preschoolers and 15 mothers look intently at the 18th century image of the Indian god Brahma. "How many heads does he have?" she asks again.

"Four," answers a little voice at her feet. "That's right. And how many hands?"

"Four," says another. "Yes. And do you know why he has four heads and four hands? Because he's a god, and this was the way Indians showed that their gods could do everything."

Five minutes later, 60 hands move together as children and mothers sit on the floor of the museum gallery and act out the Indian fable of the bee, the elephant, and the lotus flower.

Later, in another part of the museum, hands are put to use again — this time to finger paint in lots of bright colors.

It's one day in the Preschool Workshop for three, four- and five-year-olds and their parents at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Where's India?

"Children understand what's part of their own experience," says Karolina Illgen, in-

structor of the workshop, and graduate of the Institute for the Arts and Human Development at the Lesley Graduate School of Education in Cambridge, Mass. "If I asked them where India is, they wouldn't have any idea. But they can appreciate the sense of movement in Indian sculpture."

Miss Illgen feels her students will understand what she teaches only if she herself is inspired by the art. "I don't enjoy dark rena-

sance paintings, for instance, and so I'm sure I couldn't teach them very effectively to children."

Can a three-year-old understand, say, Rembrandt? "Yes, if taught in the right way. A child doesn't understand anything about technique or materials. But he can understand, say, the smile in a man's face."

Each session includes a period when the child makes his own art. Miss Illgen wants each child to learn that art is not just for spectators. She does not expect them necessarily to become artists; she just wants them to experience the joy of doing that art can bring.

Miss Illgen also carefully chooses projects on which children and their parents (at least one parent must attend the workshops with the child) can work together. After one storytelling session in the American Folk Art Gallery and a subsequent puppetmaking time when parents made the puppets, one mother commented: "I've never done anything creative;

now I love it." Miss Illgen says children often respond better when they see their parents involved.

Miss Illgen feels the parent-child relationship is an important part of the program. Not only does it help the child adjust to new surroundings, she says, but it also helps assure a continuity of the spirit of the workshops after they are over.

Linda Sweet, dean of the department of public education at the museum, agrees. "We hope the cooperation of parent and child will be the start of many shared experiences in the museum. We want people to see that even very young children can benefit from a visit to a museum."

The museum expects the children simply to "take in and put out on whatever level they can." One of Miss Illgen's favorite workshops is in the Morris Louis gallery. She has the children study the brightly colored lines of Louis's paintings — then try to imitate them. The children bend in every direction. Soon, it all turns to joyous dancing.

Arab children get an Arab education in Brussels

By Gary Yerkey

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Brussels
For the first time in Europe, the sons and daughters of Arab immigrant workers will have the opportunity to attend a primary school owned and supported by an Arab government and costing their parents nothing. The Libyan government last month purchased a two-story building in central Brussels and turned it over to the Union of Arab Workers in Belgium (UTAB), a workingmen's association, according to the Brussels daily newspaper La Sol.

These Arab children, like other immigrant workers' offspring in Europe were formerly educated in their host country's schools at their parents' expense. The purpose of the new school, an UTAB spokesman said, is to put pupils in touch with their own culture and "to prepare them to take charge of their own destiny and that of the Arab nation."

The Libyan government is reported to have expressed its readiness to extend operating credit to the school, if the Belgian government approves the plan. The classes — a maximum of five with 20 students each — will be taught by Belgian and Arab teachers, the latter drawn from the Arab population already living in Belgium.

The UTAB has previously opened an Arab Culture Center in Brussels, whose primary purpose was to provide language instruction for newly arrived Arab workers.

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French/German

Charles W. Yost

Les dangers du Proche-Orient — 2

[Traduction d'un article paru en anglais le 30 septembre 1977]

Washington — Il y a eu, au cours des derniers quatre mois, une détérioration rapide des perspectives de négociations face à face entre Israéliens et Arabes, si favorables il y a seulement quelques semaines.

Les Etats-Unis avaient proposé de venir à bout de ce qui entoure la procédure immédiate — la représentation palestinienne à la conférence de Genève — en incorporant les Palestiniens soit en une seule délégation pan-arabe, soit dans la délégation jordanienne.

Que cette formule qui tente de contourner le problème de l'O.L.P. s'avère acceptable aux participants ou non, l'obstacle majeur à la conférence est bien plus fondamental.

Un sujet de négociation majeure serait nécessairement l'avenir du Cisjordanie, du million d'Arabes qui y vivent ainsi que dans le bandon de Gaza et du grand nombre de Palestiniens en exil qui considèrent le Cisjordanie comme leur future « patrie ».

Le gouvernement Begin a fait comprendre très clairement qu'il considère le Cisjordanie comme une partie indissociable du « pays d'Israël » ayant son origine dans les temps bibliques, et qu'il est tout à fait libre d'y établir des colonies israéliennes.

Les Arabes affirment étonnamment très clairement qu'il s'agit d'un territoire arabe inaliénable et qu'il ne peut y avoir de paix sans qu'il soit restitué aux Arabes.

Le ministre des affaires étrangères Dayan a apporté à Washington un « plan de paix » israélien qui, d'après les rapports, accorderait une plus grande autonomie aux Arabes du Cisjordanie, mais conserverait le contrôle israélien de la Cisjordanie indéfiniment. Aucune concession à l'Egypte et à la Syrie sur le Sinaï et les hauteurs du Golan, toutefois, ne peut les persuader d'accepter ce qu'ils considèrent une reddition de la Cisjordanie.

La forte position de M. Begin à ce sujet et sur d'autres questions a renforcé sa popularité à l'intérieur du pays, comme les prises de positions « patriotiques » de politiciens le font si souvent. Toutefois, une telle politique israélienne mettrait fin, si elle était confirmée, à toute perspective de négociations significatives arabo-israéliennes. De plus, elle signifierait la fin du courant modéré que Sadate, Assade et Hussein ont suivi ces dernières années avec le ferme encouragement des Etats-Unis.

Il semble très douteux qu'une telle politique puisse servir les intérêts d'Israël, sans parler de ceux des Etats-Unis qui, en tant que partisan principal d'Israël, devraient partager la responsabilité de la solution.

Napoléon déclara que l'on peut faire tout ce que l'on veut avec des bonnettes, sauf s'asseoir dessus. Essayer d'incorporer en Israël presque un million d'Arabes qui deviennent de plus en plus conscients de leur identité nationale exigera des mesures répressives qui porteraient sérieusement atteinte à l'image démocratique d'Israël. Même si la répression devait avoir du succès, le taux supérieur des naissances des Arabes ferait à plus ou moins

brève échéance des Israéliens une minorité dans leur propre pays.

Une rupture de la procédure de négociation serait susceptible, de plus, d'avoir pour effet d'autres conséquences. Israël est encore plus fortement menacé que ses adversaires arabes, mais le temps ne travaille plus en sa faveur. Chaque année les Arabes deviennent économiquement plus puissants et militairement mieux entraînés et équipés.

S'ils se voyaient obligés d'abandonner le négociation parce qu'elle n'aboutit à rien, et si l'Occident refuse de leur fournir des armes, ils se retourneraient nécessairement vers les Soviétiques. Tout le progrès fait dans les années récentes pour réduire l'influence soviétique dans tout le Proche-Orient serait rapidement perdu.

Sans aucun doute, si les négociations sont bloquées, les Arabes lanceront de nouveau une offensive à l'assemblée générale des Nations Unies pour stigmatiser Israël comme un agresseur et pour approfondir davantage son isolement politique. En vérité, les Etats-Unis se trouveraient aussi isolés au sein de la politique d'Israël qu'en fait ils le sont.

Il n'est pas probable que les Arabes, harcelés en route à une guerre généralisée, essayent d'imposer un autre embargo sur le pétrole. Ils pourraient, toutefois, ralentir la production, augmenter davantage les prix et retirer quelques-uns de leurs milliards de dollars de dépôt à court terme, portant ainsi un grand préjudice à ceux qui soutiennent l'inflexibilité d'Israël.

Y a-t-il quelque chose que les Etats-Unis pourraient faire pour prévenir ces tragiques éventualités ? Ils pourraient utiliser la carotte et le bâton d'une façon plus explicite qu'ils n'ont été désireux de le faire jusqu'ici.

L'obstacle majeur à un règlement pacifique du côté d'Israël est la crainte profondément ancrée que l'on ne pourrait pas faire confiance aux Arabes pour qu'ils respectent les accords. Les Etats-Unis pourraient offrir de garantir formellement que l'accord soit observé multilatéralement ou même unilatéralement, politiquement et si nécessaire militairement.

D'autre part, les Israéliens ont toujours déclaré que si on leur donnait l'assistance dont ils sentent avoir besoin, ils deviendraient plus conciliants. Cela n'est pas arrivé. Par conséquent, une partie de l'aide pourrait être suspendue jusqu'à ce que les concessions indispensables à un accord pacifique mutuellement acceptable aient été présentées. Evidemment des concessions équivalentes de la part des Arabes devraient être faites.

Il ne saurait être question d'imposer un accord. Mais s'il doit y avoir un accord quelconque, il faudrait faire des offres plus encourageantes pour qu'il soit accepté, et des pénalités plus importantes devraient être imposées si l'on s'accroche à des positions qu'il éliminent complètement.

Autrement, il n'y a aucune chance que les Etats-Unis ne puissent être assurés.

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Charles W. Yost

Nahöstliche Gefahren (2. Teil)

[Dieser Artikel erscheint auf Seite 30 in englischer Sprache.]

Washington — Umgeben sucht, als für die Parteien akzeptabel erweisen wird oder nicht, die Konferenz steht auf ein viel grundlegendes Problem.

Ein Hauptgegenstand der Verhandlungen wäre notwendigerweise die Zukunft Westjordanien, der Million Araber, die dort und im Gazastreifen leben, und der großen Zahl von Palästinensern im Exil, die Westjordanien als ihr künftiges « Heimatland » betrachten.

Die Regierung Begin hat klar zu verstehen gegeben, daß sie Westjordanien als Teil eines unveräußerlichen, aus biblischen Zeiten hergeleiteten « Israels » ansehe und daß sie ihr völlig freistehe, dort israelische Siedlungen zu gründen.

Ob sich diese Formel, die das Problem der Palästinensischen Befreiungsfront (PLO) zu umgehen sucht, als für die Parteien akzeptabel erweisen wird oder nicht, die Konferenz steht auf ein viel grundlegendes Problem.

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Die Araber haben ebenso deutlich erklärt, daß es sich hier um unveräußerliches arabisches Territorium handele und daß es keinen Frieden geben könne, wenn es nicht den Arabern zurückgegeben werde.

Außenminister Dayan hat einen israelischen « Friedensplan » mit nach Washington gebracht, der, wie verlautet, den Arabern in Westjordanien größere Autonomie gewähren, aber die volle Souveränität Israels für unbestimmte Zeit aufrechterhalten würde. Keine Konzession Israels gegenüber Ägypten und Syrien in bezug auf die Sinai-Halbinsel und die Golan-Höhen könnten die Araber jedoch davon überzeugen, zu akzeptieren, was sie als ein Aufgeben Westjordanien betrachten.

Begins entschiedene Einstellung zu dieser Frage und anderen Problemen hat seine Popularität in Israel erhöht, wie das so oft der Fall ist, wenn Politiker sich « patriotisch » verhalten. Solch eine israelische Politik würde jedoch, wenn bestätigt, jeglichen Aussichten auf sinnvolle arabisch-israelische Verhandlungen ein Ende bereiten. Es würde außerdem bedeuten, daß die gemäßigte Politik, die Sadat, Assad und Hussein, bestärkt durch die Vereinigten Staaten, in den letzten Jahren verfolgt haben, Schiffbruch erlitten hat.

Es erscheint sehr zweifelhaft, daß solch eine Politik den Interessen Israels dienen würde, ganz zu schweigen von denen der Vereinigten Staaten, die als der wichtigste Alliierte Israels die Verantwortung für dessen Durchführung mit zu tragen hätten.

Napoleon bemerkte einmal, daß man mit einem allseits umklammerten, massierten, nur darauf abzielt, den Versuch, nahezu eine Million Araber, die sich ihrer nationalen Identität immer mehr bewusst werden, Israel einzunehmen, würde repressive Maßnahmen erforderlich machen, die dem demokratischen Image Israels ernstlich Abbruch täten. Selbst wenn diese Maßnahmen erfolgreich wären, könnte die höhere arabische Geburtenziffer früher oder später die Israelis zu einer Minorität in ihrem eigenen Land werden lassen.

Ein Zusammenbruch der Verhandlungen würde wahrscheinlich auch noch andere Konsequenzen haben. Israel ist militärisch immer noch stärker als seine arabischen Gegner, aber die Zeit ist nicht mehr ein Faktor zugunsten der Israelis. Jedes Jahr werden die Araber wirtschaftlich mächtiger und militärisch besser ausgebildet und ausgerüstet.

Wenn sie sich gezwungen sehen, die Verhandlungen abzubrechen, weil sie zu nichts führen, und wenn der Westen sich weigert, ihnen Waffen zu liefern, werden sie sich notwendig

French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux paru en anglais sur la page The Home Forum

L'Entendement de l'homme

Chacun de nous est gouverné par l'intelligence infinie que nous appelons Dieu.

Bien que nous ne reconnaissons peut-être pas que cette intelligence nous gouverne, et que nous pensions même avoir une volonté indépendante de ce qui est juste et bon, la question à résoudre est celle-ci : Qu'est-ce que la Vérité, ou l'Entendement ? Qu'est-ce que l'intelligence ?

Dans le livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, Mary Baker Eddy, Découvreuse et Fondatrice de la Science Chrétienne, écrit : « La seule intelligence ou substance d'une pensée, d'une semence ou d'une fleur, est Dieu, le créateur de ces choses. L'Entendement est l'Ame de tout. L'Entendement est la Vie, la Vérité et l'Amour gouvernant tout. »

Ces synonymes de Dieu indiquent Son éternité ; ils signifient qu'il n'y a pas de commencement, pas de fin. Et parce qu'ils sont infinis, il n'est pas possible qu'ils soient absents.

Le déroulement dans la conscience humaine de l'intelligence infinie de l'Entendement a été manifesté par des inventions merveilleuses et des progrès de la technologie. Cette pensée des limitations de la pensée humaine nous a libérés d'un grand nombre de rites, de théories et de craintes séculaires.

Le bien réel dans l'Entendement divin infini toujours présent. C'est là l'Entendement de tous, l'Entendement de l'homme — et le salut des problèmes de l'humanité. Dans cette intelligence infinie, il n'a peut-être jamais eu aucune absence de compréhension ou d'harmonie.

Il ne peut jamais y avoir plus que tout, plus que l'infini. Les idées de l'Entendement sont infinies et toujours présentes, mais nous ne pouvons les reconnaître et les recevoir que grâce au discernement spirituel. Prier de façon persévérante et en se tournant jour après jour vers Dieu apporte une compréhension plus grande et une croissance

spirituelle, et nous commençons à penser plus aux autres et moins à nous-mêmes.

Toutefois, un juste équilibre comprend toujours une estimation correcte des capacités dont Dieu nous a doués et des mobiles qu'il nous inspire et cela nous permet de trouver de nouveaux buts et de nouvelles occasions et de faire des ajustements plus harmonieux dans nos activités quotidiennes. Un ancien but matériel devient moins urgent lorsque nous trouvons ordre et calme dans un style de vie plus spirituel. Christ Jésus a dit : « On ne dira pas : Il est ici ! ou bien ! Il est là ! Car voici que le royaume de Dieu est au dedans de vous ! »

Nous apprenons également à notre avantage de l'homme créé par Dieu dans chacun de nos sembles. Et nous pouvons voir notre propre nature véritable en tant que complète et en paix. L'infini même de l'Entendement et de ses qualités rend impossible l'absence de ces qualités en l'homme. L'Entendement divin est toujours, en réalité, notre Entendement. Notre être véritable est l'expression de l'Entendement.

Ce n'est qu'en discernant et en vivant ces vérités spirituelles de façon paisible et ininterrompue que nous pouvons voir et ressentir l'harmonie et l'inspiration de l'Entendement et de ses idées. Il nous faut reconnaître et accepter que l'intelligence infinie gouverne tout. Nous pouvons alors commencer à comprendre ce que Mrs. Eddy veut dire lorsqu'elle écrit : « La pensée calme et exaltée, ou l'intelligence spirituelle, est en paix. »

Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures, p. 608 ; Luc 17:21 (version synodale) ; Science et Santé, p. 508.

« Christian Science (Christliche Wissenschaft) »

La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures, de Mary Baker Eddy, existe avec le texte anglais en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou le commander à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Ein jeder von uns versteht der unendlichen Intelligenz, die wir Gott nennen.

Wenn wir auch diese Regierung nicht anerkennen und sogar davon überzeugt sein mögen, wir wären auf der einzig richtigen Spur zu einem größeren Verständnis dessen, was gerecht und gut ist, erhebt sich dennoch die Frage: Was ist Wahrheit, oder Gemüt? Was ist Intelligenz?

Im Lehrbuch der Christlichen Wissenschaft schreibt Mary Baker Eddy, die Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft: „Die einzige Intelligenz oder Substanz eines Gedankens, eines Samens oder einer Blume ist Gott, der Schöpfer derselben. Gemüt ist die Seele von allem. Gemüt ist Leben, Wahrheit und Liebe, das alles regiert.“

Car voici que le royaume de Dieu est au dedans de vous !

Nous apprenons également à notre avantage de l'homme créé par Dieu dans chacun de nos sembles. Et nous pouvons voir notre propre nature véritable en tant que complète et en paix. L'infini même de l'Entendement et de ses qualités rend impossible l'absence de ces qualités en l'homme. L'Entendement divin est toujours, en réalité, notre Entendement. Notre être véritable est l'expression de l'Entendement.

Ce n'est qu'en discernant et en vivant ces vérités spirituelles de façon paisible et ininterrompue que nous pouvons voir et ressentir l'harmonie et l'inspiration de l'Entendement et de ses idées. Il nous faut reconnaître et accepter que l'intelligence infinie gouverne tout. Nous pouvons alors commencer à comprendre ce que Mrs. Eddy veut dire lorsqu'elle écrit : « La pensée calme et exaltée, ou l'intelligence spirituelle, est en paix. »

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Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift, von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite druckweise verbunden. Das Buch kann in den Lesesälen der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Ausgabe über andere christlich-wissenschaftliche Schriften in deutscher Sprache wird auf Anfrage der Verlag, The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Nur wenn wir uns im stillen und ununterbrochen der geistigen Wahrheiten bewußt werden und ihnen gemäß leben, können wir die Harmonie und Inspiration des Gemüts und seiner Ideen sehen und spüren. Wir müssen erkennen und akzeptieren, daß die unendliche Intelligenz alle regiert. Denn beginnen wir zu verstehen, was Mrs. Eddy meint, wenn sie schreibt: „Der ruhige und erhabene Gedanke oder das geistige Erleben hat Frieden.“

Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift, S. 508; Lukas 17:21 (Fußnote); Wissenschaft und Gesundheit, S. 508.

« Christian Science (Christliche Wissenschaft) »

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Ein angemessenes Gleichgewicht schließt



Forged olive branch.
Le rameau d'olivier forgé.
Palmeritzweig im Entstehen



Panoramic view, Big Sur, California

By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer

©1977 Charles W. Yost

ARTISTS and their
INSPIRATIONPoet Joseph Brodsky
Untitled

Now that I've walled myself off from the world,
I'd like to wall myself off from myself.
Not fences at hewn poles, but mirror glass,
It seems to me, will best accomplish this.
I'll study the dark features of my face:
my bristly beard, the blotches on my chin.
Perhaps there is no better kind of wall
than a three-sided mirror for this parted pair.*
This mirror shows, in twilight from the door,
huge starlings at the edge of the ploughland,
and takes like breeches in the well, yet crowned
with fir-tree teeth. Behold, the world beyond
creeps through these lakes — these breeches in our world —
indeed, through every puddle opening.
Or else this world crawls through them in the sky.

Joseph Brodsky

*The "parted pair" is the poet and his own reflection, from which he has been "separated" by his mirror.

From Joseph Brodsky Selected Poems, ©1973, translated by George L. Kline, Harper and Row, Publishers.

Joseph Brodsky is considered by many the greatest living Russian poet. In 1964 he was sentenced by a Leningrad court to five years in an Arctic labor camp for "parasitism," that is, for writing poetry full time without official sanction. Instead of working in a factory. After an international outcry, Brodsky was released early from his sentence. He was exiled from the Soviet Union in 1972, however, and subsequently became Poet in Residence at the University of Michigan.

Elizabeth Pond, who was until recently Moscow correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor, went to talk with him. In her words:

"The Ann Arbor, Michigan, house looks very American and suburban outside, very Russian inside. The first floor, virtually empty, is ignored except for transit. There is only one room in the house that matters — the second-floor study that is just large enough to encompass a battered desk, a chair, a couch/bed, and bookshelves crammed with Hazlitt, Mandelstam, Roethke, Montale, and dictionaries. There are color photos of Venice on the wall; plus some leaves from last fall and a print of the port of London in an earlier century. Sitting in the chair, with every book in the room within arm's reach, is Joseph Brodsky."

The following excerpts are taken from their conversation.

How do you maintain a Russian voice while living outside of Russia?

"It's not simple. But the question is based on preconceived ideas about a writer's tradition and roots. Spiritually, men are rooted only in — what should I say? — rooted only upwards. So consequently it doesn't really matter where you are living or how far your desk is from your homeland. Sometimes it's even better to be far away. Thomas Mann, when he arrived in America and was asked about that, said, 'The German art of letters is wherever I am.'"

The material which constitutes a poem is, in the first place, the language itself. The poem runs not because of what it actually says, or what it actually operates with in terms of the "real," or in terms even of di-

dictes. First of all, the aesthetic entity is supplied by language. Maybe I use a word which I didn't intend originally. But still, because of my liking of this word, I use it. It's true — in some poems I have written in this country I describe something local, like a Coca-Cola sign. But that is used as a simile.

A poet may use the locale. But what dictates this usage is not the locale itself, but the poet's own language, its harmony, its plasticity, its flow.

Images are not local. They are not Russian. They do not have nationality or national identity. A street is a street. A house is a house. Space is space; time is time. It's not that I'm trying to say that the theme of this world is universal or international. But the material world is essentially the embodiment or manifestation of some other things. And in that respect they are neither Russian nor American, you see?

This look of dependence on a place is easier, I feel, for a novelist than for a poet — though if it is not easy in either case — but a poem is a more accelerated form of story. It's more compact. Still I think you need to stay closer to the current prosody in poetry than in prose itself. In prose you are creating the world. In a big work you create the atmosphere and in that atmosphere you can invent turns of phrase. Poetry, on the other hand, is sheer monologue.

When you use a concrete image from Russia in your poetry do you have to struggle for it now?

"What is really hard — from time to time in my poems I used to insert some pieces of dialogue. Now it goes a little bit out of my poetry. Though I can fake it successfully, I hope."

What I'm trying to do in my poetry is to generalize rather than particularize. In living far away from your homeland, theoretically you are cut off from the language colloquialisms, etc. And yet I wonder, isn't this allusion in a way a return to a normal state? When you are living in a home, you are dealing with so many people and

Evening

Snow had sifted through cracks
and salt-powdered the hay.
When I scattered the stalks
I could see a moth stir.
Little moth, little moth!
You staved off your death,
creeping into this loft:
hibernated, survived.

The moth lived to see how
my lantern* made smoke trails,
and how brightly lit up
were the planks of the walls.
When I held him up close
I could see his antennae —
more clearly than the flame
or my own two cupped hands.

We are wholly alone —
in the evening gloom
and my fingers are warm
like the lost days of June.

Joseph Brodsky

*The *letuchaya nishch* (literally, "bat") is a bat-like Russian lantern, having four glass slides which enclose a candle.

so many issues that you fail to grasp them at all. So in some way having just 10 or 20 — or five — people to truly converse with in Russian is returning to the normal scale.

What about the language itself, its intonation and flow? Isn't there a risk of losing these when you are not surrounded by the language?

This is your fear. But the fear is reduced by the sheer impossibility of imagining yourself 20 years from now. Even tomorrow is a mystery to me.

Some of my Russian friends in Moscow say that your poetry has continued developing after you left Russia and that you've gotten better here.

Of course, I hope so.

How do you see your work developing since you left the Soviet Union?

I can talk only of what I hope has happened. I know what I'm trying to do; in a way it's different from what I was doing while I was in Russia. I'm less given to immediate irritants: living abroad, living in exile, is perhaps the closest possible approximation to the absolute, to the existential absolute.

For instance, I know what has happened in one respect. The main tendency of the Russian psyche is the idea of consolation, of justification of the existing order. This idea of consolation is very deep in the Russian psyche and penetrates Russian aesthetics and poetry. The meters, the end-rhyme, the flow of the Russian verse have the air of consoling and perhaps lamenting. With this lament and consolation you feel at home; you have made the end mentally.

I do not believe in that. I never did very much. Consequently, I see no reason whatever to try to fit it. I think my poetry now is a little bit heretic; I think it's a little bit more to the point, a bit more concrete. I think it indicates truth — it's able to perceive any truth — rather than imitate it.

In the Soviet Union the pressures on a poet are different. . . . They are different. They're lighter. Is that surprising? The reason is very simple: The faculties of your mind which could otherwise be occupied

with self-distrust are occupied with distrust of the state.

I've often wondered about this. How does a writer develop when he doesn't have a full opportunity to test his ideas and his writing openly?

I don't know how to explain it. You certainly do not have that opportunity. Still, you are always writing, always working, bearing in mind that there is some critic, some sardonic mind out there. And as soon as your imagination gets this idea, it moves in front of you, like a horizon you are never able to reach. You are never able to approach this person. However far you go, however profound you get, still the idea of this critic grows in direct proportion to this profundity.

How did you prevent all your energy from going into fighting the official intrusions rather than into creating poetry?

I was much too occupied with doing poetry as well as I could. A writer has only one responsibility to society: just to write well. It's a fairly consuming occupation. I do not believe in verbal fighting. The loss of people into fighting carries a big risk of self-deception. Whenever you do something good you automatically identify yourself as good.

What about your audience? In the Soviet Union you had people thrifting for your next poem. Here you don't.

That's an exaggeration. Russian readers are pleased when they get a new poem. So am I. But frankly, I do not believe in any real interplay between writer and audience — neither here nor there. Applause from an audience is also a shortcut to deception. Stravinsky, when he was asked the classic question — who do you compose for? — said, "for myself and for the probable after-go." An after-go never applauds you.

In your poetry classes you have described the coming of a poem as startling with a hum.

A mental hum. It creates a certain kind of entity in your mind which you try to fill up with words and thoughts in approximation of this hum.

And rewriting? When do your official faculties take over for your creative faculties?

They never do. Because writing itself is a selective process. You dismiss things. And this selection is exactly, in a much condensed form, a critical process. You see, the majority of things are written out of a state of being at odds with yourself. Confusion. Sometimes you are writing in order to clarify some things.

You find out what you are thinking in the process of writing poetry?

In a way. But I don't think that's accurate. For some reason you are writing a poem out of a certain knowledge which overcomes the odds. [With surprise, to himself] That's a nice definition.

The odds of what? Of accident? Confusion? Both. All kinds. Your basic mistrust of yourself.

One last question. Apart from what you've already said, could you offer a definition of a poem?

I have a good one. A poem is the closest possible interplay between ethics and aesthetics.

The Monitor's religious article

The mind of man

Each of us is subject to the infinite intelligence that we call God.

While we may not acknowledge this government, and may even feel we have an inside track to a superior understanding of what is right and good, it evolves into the question: What is Truth, or Mind? What is intelligence?

In the Christian Science textbook Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, writes: "The only intelligence or substance of a thought, a seed, or a flower is God, the creator of it. Mind is the Soul of all. Mind is Life, Truth, and Love which governs all."

These synonyms for God indicate this eternality; they imply no beginning, no ending. And because they are infinite, there is no possibility of their absence.

The unfoldment in human consciousness of Mind's infinite intelligence has been made manifest in wonderful inventions and advancements in technology. This breaking through limitations of human thought has freed us from many age-old rituals, theories, and tears.

Good resides in the infinite ever-present divine Mind. This is the Mind of all, the Mind of man — and the solution to mankind's problems. In this infinite intelligence there can be no absence of understanding or harmony.

There can never be more than all, or infinity. Mind's ideas are infinite and ever-present, but we can only recognize and receive them: through spiritual discernment, persistent and consistent prayer and daily turning to God bring increasing understanding and spiritual growth, and we begin to think more of others and less of ourselves.

However, a proper balance always includes the right appraisal of our God-given abilities and incentives, and this enables us to find new objectives and opportunities and more harmonious adjustments in our everyday activities. An old material objective becomes less urgent as we find the order and tranquility of a more spiritual way of life. Christ Jesus said, "Neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you."

We also learn to see more of the God-created man in each of our fellowmen. And we can see our own real nature as complete, and at peace. The very infinity of Mind and its qualities precludes an absence of them in

BIBLE VERSE

I can do all things through Christ
which strengtheneth me.
Philippians 4:13

Resting branch

I climb the tree
stretching out over the river
climbing for a branch that won't break
leaving my head on its strength
to watch the glassy mosaic
below on the water
reflecting my face and thoughts
shimmering and drawing together
like pieces of a puzzle
I believe in this branch
ramping to the trunk
which runs to roots
where works the seed
advancing through the years
forming a branch that won't break
to hold my resting body

Wayne Welch

men. The divine Mind is always, in reality, our Mind. Our real being is the expression of Mind.

Only in quiet, uninterrupted discernment and living of spiritual truths can we see and feel the harmony and inspiration of Mind and its ideas. We need to recognize and acknowledge that infinite intelligence is governing all. Then we can begin to understand what Mrs. Eddy means when she writes, "The calm and exalted thought or spiritual apprehension is at peace."

*Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 508; **Luke 17:21; †Science and Health, p. 506.

Within the
closeness of
God's family

To feel a natural warmth and affection for all our brothers and sisters as children of God is to be drawn within the encircling love of our divine Parent. The Bible speaks of this bond of universal brotherhood and assures us that we are all the sons and daughters of God. It tells us that God can help us in every circumstance.

A fuller understanding of God is needed to reach to the core of every discord with a healing solution. A book that speaks of the all-goodness of God, His love and His constancy, in clear understandable terms is Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures by Mary Baker Eddy.

Science and Health shows the reader how to love in a manner that brings about happy relationships, an honest affection for all mankind, and a deeper love for God.

A paperback copy can be yours by sending \$1.80 with this coupon to:

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Aspen Forest: Photograph by Paul Conklin

OPINION AND...

Charles W. Yost

Mideast dangers — 2

Washington

There has over the past four months been a rapid deterioration in the prospects, so favorable only a short time ago, for face-to-face negotiations between Israelis and Arabs.

The United States has proposed to overcome the immediate procedural roadblock — Palestinian representation of a Geneva conference — by the incorporation of Palestinians either in a single pan-Arab delegation or in the Jordanian delegation.

Whether or not this formula, which attempts to skirt the PLO problem, should prove acceptable to the parties, the major obstacle to the conference is much more fundamental.

A major subject of negotiation would necessarily be the future of the West Bank of the Jordan, of the million Arabs living there and in the Gaza Strip, and of the large number of Palestinians in exile who look on the West Bank as their prospective "homeland."

The Begin government has made it quite clear that it regards the West Bank as part of an unalienable "land of Israel" deriving from Biblical times, and that it is entirely at liberty to establish Israeli settlements there.

The Arabs are equally clear that it is inalienable Arab territory and that there can be no peace without its restoration to the Arabs.

It appears that Foreign Minister Dayan is bringing to Washington an Israeli "peace plan"

which would grant more autonomy to Arabs on the West Bank but would retain full Israeli control indefinitely. No concessions to Egypt and Syria on the Sinai and the Golan Heights, however, could persuade them to accept what they would consider a surrender of the West Bank.

Mr. Begin's strong stand on this and other issues has enhanced his domestic popularity, as "patriotic" postures by politicians so often do. However, such an Israeli policy would, if confirmed, end any prospect of meaningful Arab-Israeli negotiations. It would, moreover, signify the bankruptcy of the moderate course which Sadat, Assad, and Hussein have, with strong United States encouragement, followed in recent years.

It seems very doubtful that such a policy would serve the interests of Israel, not to mention those of the United States which as Israel's main supporter would have to share the responsibility for maintaining it.

Napoleon remarked that you can do everything with bayonets except all on them. To attempt to incorporate into Israel nearly a million Arabs who are becoming increasingly conscious of their national identity would require repressive measures seriously damaging to Israel's democratic image. Even if repression were successful, the higher Arab birthrate could sooner or later make the Israelis a minority in their own country.

A breakdown of the negotiating process would be likely, moreover, to have other consequences. Israel is still stronger militarily than its Arab adversaries but time no longer works in its favor. Each year the Arabs grow economically more powerful and militarily better trained and equipped.

If they find themselves obliged to abandon negotiation because it leads nowhere, and if the West refuses to provide them with arms, they will of necessity turn again to the Soviets. All the progress made in recent years in reducing Soviet influence throughout the Middle East would be quickly lost.

There can be no doubt that, if negotiations are stalled, the Arabs will again launch an offensive in the United Nations General Assembly to stigmatize Israel as an aggressor and further deepen its political isolation. Indeed the United States would also find itself isolated in defending Israel policies if in fact disapproves.

It is not probable that the Arabs, barring full-scale war, would try to impose another oil embargo. They could, however, slow down production, further increase prices, and withdraw some of their billions of short-term dollar deposits, in such a way as to be acutely damaging to those supporting Israel's inflexibility.

Is there anything the United States could do to forestall these tragic eventualities? It could

use both the carrot and the stick more explicitly than it has hitherto been willing to do.

The chief obstacle to a peace settlement on the Israeli side is the deep-seated fear that the Arabs could not be trusted to observe the settlement. The United States could offer formally to guarantee its observance, multilaterally or even unilaterally, politically and if necessary militarily.

On the other hand, the Israelis have always claimed that, if they were given the aid they feel they need, they would become more conciliatory. This has not happened. Therefore, some aid could be withheld until concessions indispensable to any mutually acceptable peace settlement had been offered. Obviously, equivalent concessions by the Arabs would have to be made.

There should be no question of imposing a settlement. But if there is to be any settlement at all, greater incentives for accepting it may have to be offered, and greater penalties applied for clinging to positions which completely rule it out.

Otherwise neither the security of Israel nor of the United States can be assured.

Port I of this commentary ran last week.

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Fighting helplessness, '70s-style

Melvin Maddocks

If one had to nominate the prevalent feeling today — the modern feeling — the guess, one might be helplessness.

Average person gets up in the morning feeling helpless — just acconing the headlines of his newspaper. Wars, shortages, pollution, everything he reads about finally touches his life, and yet what can he do about it?

Average person climbs into his automobile, the most powerful, the most sophisticated land vehicle in history, and sits helplessly, in a traffic jam.

When he finally gets to work, average person is, for eight hours, the member of a megacorporation as often as not. But the awesome size and scope of the company only seem to make him feel small and expendable and well, helpless.

After hours, average person claims more freedom in his private relationships than his mother and father would have dreamed of. The policy of no strings is perfectly splendid when he is the one who wants to let go, but how does he feel when he is the one who wants to hang on? Helpless.

Self-improvement books proliferate on how to get power and use it. From the boardroom to the bedroom, life is explained as a power game. Yet average person is also constantly told how little effective power anybody has, right up to the Kremlin, the Vatican, or the White House.

We are all, it appears, the pawns of history — and

worse. For on the philosophical level average person is given the popular non-choice of assuming that man is a puppet of behavior modification, jacked around by rewards and punishments, or the victim of his genes, predestined from birth.

Human beings have always felt their limits, but have people ever felt as helpless as they do in this most powerful of centuries?

The ways people fight helplessness is a revealing indicator. In the '60s the metaphor was guerrilla warfare. A small but militant underground proposed to practice counterinsurgency against a specific enemy — the system, sabotage, infiltration — these were the operative terms. A shove at just the right place and time, and the dinosaur-Establishment, musclebound by its own power, would topple from dead weight. So went the plot.

In the '70s one tends to practice anti-helplessness in the solitary sense — as a gesture, even a kind of practical joke. One does what one does, not to overcome the world but to break up its rhythm, to make a little space for oneself; to be human. When an anti-helplessness rebel, '70s-style, climbed the World Trade Building, he

made the front pages, pushing aside for a day the headlines of helplessness. But mostly these gestures make the bottom of a book page, if that.

Like the story of Brian O'Brien of Wilton, Connecticut, who ran the 300 miles to Freeport, Maine — four hours a day for two weeks — to prove that a mao on foot could obtain a pair of corodury pants and a tailor-made shirt from the L. L. Bean mail order catalog faster than the post office would deliver them. He arrived in Freeport one day after his order had arrived in Wilton, and everybody from postmasters down to the Bean computer cried: "See?" But Brian O'Brien saw too what he had really proved: that average person was not helpless.

Jogging, in fact, is the metaphor of anti-helplessness in the '70s. Jogging, home-gardening — all the small, manageable activities that begin with the declarative statement: "I do not depend. . . ." On machines. On other people.

Such gestures are private. One no longer attempts to fight helplessness by seizing power. For one no longer trusts oneself with power, any more than anybody else. We seem to be going back to a primer stage, starting all over again, far from the political centers of power, far too from the computer buttons. Every man his own slightly ironic populist.

It's not enough. But it may be a beginning — this anti-helplessness that proceeds, one jogging step at a time.

Readers write

A German's view of South Africa: an insular slant on the globe

There is such effort on the part of British and American politicians to help the Africans, black and white, to live together in peace and there is such a lot of talk to help the blacks to gain majority rule. So far so good. But why do you read so much about "black majority rule"? If you do not advocate the exchange of one racism for a black racism?

It appears to me that majority rule in a democracy is designed to get the greatest good for the greatest number. And in a democracy a government that does not attain this goal should be replaced, should be voted out of office by intelligence gaining the ear of the voters.

In a country where white racism generated black racism, little can be gained by exchanging one racism against another color of racism; except bloodshed. So why try to force a solution from outside instead of advocating the majority rule of intelligence with understanding and restraint?

And as regards generating fear of black "riot to arms": Where do all those weapons come from that filter into black African lands? It looks to me that many "white" outlets derive large revenues from selling their outdated weapons to people who would not bat-

tle off without them, instead of strictly controlling the exports of war material. Where are our own ethics and Christian sentiments if profits must be made on weapons instead of scrapping weapons that are not useful anymore? We are sure that the arms trade is a machinery for killing people and then with others that these guns could be used for this very purpose.

Frankfurt, Germany Karl W. Kesterstein

Street fighting in England

I read the Monitor in expectation of being told a dimension on events missing from other newspapers, but the article by Francis Romny of Sept. 3 fell far short of this expectation.

Whether reporting industrial problems (like Grunwick's) or political/tribal problems (as in Lewisham), Mr. Romny's reports reveal a language laden with overtones.

Talking about German propaganda (not unrelated to Romny's topic) in the Second World War the set historian, E. H. Gombrich, who worked for the BBC Monitoring Service said that "what psychologists call regression" is really a "backsliding toward the more primitive habits of mind attributed to the crowd."

The language we speak is imbued with myth, and so we return with ease to the animistic reaction of turning abstractions into living entities and nations into mythical beings.

He goes on to say that if you force everyone to fight the same battle, the opponent will almost certainly increase in stature. . . . for in the regressive state the outside world which frustrates us is no longer a medley of unpleasant realities but a negative image of our own claims and aspirations.

Though by no means a simple passage to understand out of context, this quotation illustrates a way of interpreting events seemingly repelling the excesses of Gombrich's warning on. As he pointed out: "Once you are entrapped in this illusory universe it will become reality, for if you fight everybody, everybody will fight you. . . . and there is really no escape from this truly vicious circle."

Reporting in the Monitor should help us avoid falling into such "vicious circles."

Frederick N. Hunter

Indifferent arrogance

Your timely editorial in the International Edition dated Sept. 3 contains a phrase that might be deemed insulting — even arrogant — albeit unintentionally. I refer to:

portions of the world, such as Africa and Asia.

Surely, to an African or an Asian, England is "outlying." America, perhaps, even more so. For hundreds of years we have been wont to draw our maps with London or New York somewhere near the center, that we may tend to overlook the differing sense of orientation to which others are entitled.

E. Swasey, England A. K. W. Wealon-Webb

Police state not better

Re George Anghel's "East European Jew would go home again": I am sure most of your readers were revolted by Dr. Anghel's preference for a "mild" (whatever that means) dictatorship and a police state over our democracy. I find it difficult to believe that he speaks for most other people who left their homelands (for whatever reason) to begin new lives in this country.

Charlotte Gleva

We invite readers' letters for this column.

Of course we cannot consider every one, and some are condensed before publication, but thoughtful comments are welcome.

Letters should be addressed to: The Christian Science Monitor, International Edition, One North Street, Boston, MA 02115.

COMMENTARY

Joseph C. Harsch

A report on NATO

Having spent two weeks visiting NATO headquarters in Brussels, SHAPE (Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers, Europe) near Mons, Belgium, and attending the annual conference of the International Institute of Strategic Studies devoted to the new weapons and East-West security, I would like to submit a one-observer opinion that NATO and Western security are in reasonably good condition.

NATO could of course be better off. Every one involved laments the fact that the allied powers have never yet been able to agree on standardized weapons. Nor is their command structure as unified as is the Warsaw Pact structure. NATO is a collection of national armed forces. The Warsaw Pact system is authoritarian, and run firmly by the Russians. All Warsaw Pact forces are under direct Russian command. France cooperates with its alliance partners, but will only consult with SHAPE headquarters.

These are NATO's most obvious shortcomings. It has assets to balance them. The Soviet Union is one of those assets. NATO's low point could probably be dated from shortly before the Soviets airlifted a lot of Cuban troops into Angola. At about that same time the various NATO countries began to realize that Moscow was engaged in a large and continuing program of military expansion. It

land, air and sea forces were being rearmed with new and larger numbers of weapons. Soviet power was seen to be advancing, not swiftly, but with the apparent inexorability of a glacier. The consistent steadiness of the growth of Soviet power was the most disturbing feature.

Thanks to that steady Soviet buildup and the use in Angola of its expanding range, the allied powers in Europe turned their attention back to NATO with refreshed interest. They were worried enough to be ready to take steps to improve the Western posture. The appointment of Gen. Alexander Haig Jr. to the top NATO military command happened to coincide with the renewed appreciation of the danger. There was some uneasiness among the Europeans over his appointment because of his intimate association with the Nixon administration. But by this time those early doubts have been replaced by enthusiasm.

NATO has had a number of successful Supreme Commanders. Dwight Eisenhower, Lauris Norstad, Walter Bedell Smith, Matthew Ridgway, Andrew Goodpastor — and others — have all had high marks from the allied forces who served under them. I doubt that any were given higher marks during their tours of duty than General Haig is getting right now.

He has had two successes which have raised NATO confidence and morale. The first was to

persuading all the NATO partners except the British (so far) to raise their military budgets. He hopes shortly to persuade the British to swing into line with the others. Getting Washington to commit itself to an actual military increase (above inflation) was considered a major achievement by the allies.

His second success was in persuading the Carter administration to revise the European strategy formula to provide for a prompt effort to repel any invasion of NATO territory. The original Carter formula had called for a "flexible response" so worded that it seemed to imply that an invasion of West Germany might be slowed to stand for some time without any aggressive effort to regain lost ground.

Reports of that original formula shocked NATO and caused a political crisis in West Germany. General Haig made a quick trip back to Washington and returned to SHAPE with a revised formula acceptable to the Germans. That was the same as winning an important battle.

General Haig, and all his subordinates, would like of course to have more and better weapons than they have right now. They recognize that they cannot meet and stop a Soviet tank attack at the frontier. Some penetration would be both unavoidable, and in the military sense, even desirable. There would have to be

a substantial concentration of Soviet forces across the frontier to prove aggression and to justify the use of the newer battlefield weapons.

But Soviet superiority in numbers of tanks — some put it as high as three to one — does not dismay either General Haig or his allies. They point out that there are many other ways of stopping tanks than using tanks. The tank essentially is an offensive weapon. NATO is designed to defend Western Europe, not to invade Eastern Europe. NATO therefore puts more reliance on antitank weapons and attack aircraft than on tanks. It chooses those weapons which are designed to meet and break up and destroy tanks. General Haig would like more of those than he has, but is confident that he can hold and contain any attack which could come at him right now.

The SHAPE experts are worried not over today's situation, but over what might be the situation five years or so from now. The real anxiety is over whether the Western allies will be willing to keep pace with the Soviet buildup, both in quality and in quantity of weapons. The West has an enormous advantage in technology. Will it use that advantage? At the moment the trend is in the right direction. NATO is right now growing stronger and is keeping pace.

Thailand's travails

By Adam Haidane

There is little joy today in Thailand, the land of smiles. Almost four years ago student activists, aided by the King, toppled a corrupt and long regime to the surprise of observers the world over. But the resulting democratic government was increasingly unable to sustain order amid the growing anarchy in the region and the deepening world recession.

Finally, a year ago this month, to no one's surprise, the military intervened once again, after rioting students had burned an effigy of the Crown Prince — a horrid assault for a country that hitherto had come close to worshipping the throne.

The ensuing 10 months have compounded Thailand's problems. In what seemed like on the verge of a solution to the problem of governance, Thailand's popular Gen. Kriangsak Chavanond devised a government of civilians who held all authority — while the military held residual power in the background. The experiment has failed and in so doing has imperiled the survival of the kingdom.

The Premier selected, Thanin Kraivichien, was a palace favorite; an incorruptible judge and a scholar to the Queen, as well as a doctrinaire anticommunist, given to lecturing even the American ambassador on the evils of communism. Inflexible and dog-

"Every day yet another prop of the regime collapses," a shrewd observer put it. "It is perceptible — even palpable."

Thanin has managed to alienate every interest group — labor, the farmers, students, teachers and, most importantly, the military. A sense of profound alienation exists among intellectuals. "We feel totally useless," one said. "Even under the old dictatorships the generals tried to placate us. This government has only contempt for us."

The damage is compounded by the involvement of what is euphemistically referred to in the press as "the highest institution" — the throne. Keenly conscious of the stakes for Thailand's survival, the King — and much more pertinently the Queen — have allowed themselves to be drawn into the Thanin government's net; in short, to be used. Never before has the throne been the subject of popular discussion, let alone criticism. Now, the Thai throne, an institution almost unique in the developing world and potentially Thailand's long-run greatest social asset for survival, is risking its prestige to sustain an untenable regime. A self-serving and unpopular interior minister, Senak, is a favorite of the Queen and openly uses her patronage to build his own illusory

base. Even royal princes despair — although one commented that maybe such a "demystification of the King" would in the long run be a good thing. Few agree.

Behind all this is the growth of the communist insurgency. Data which this writer has seen show what may be the beginning of a generic expansion of the war in the poor northeast, and small wonder, what with a hostile border all along the Mekong and the Cambodian frontier. Three camps in Cambodia churn out insurgents as do at least five in Laos. Thai intelligence sources have intercepted explicit and high-level Lao instructions on how to agitate and propagandize throughout the kingdom.

The communists have taken the gloves off with respect to the King for the first time — yet another sign of his vulnerability. They would have only harmed their own cause before by attacking the throne but now their propaganda ridicules and mocks him; calls for his overthrow and the imposition of a "popular democracy" (read "communist dictatorship").

The worst is yet to come. With the military putsch last year a thousand students fled to the jungle to join the insurgents. They have been kept separate, being integrated into the cadre as their "education"

and acclimatization to the harsh life of the jungle permit. But the new level of sophistication in communist propaganda suggests that the students are not wholly passive. They are giving the insurgents a new base in the Thai intelligentsia.

And the return to Laos of six Vietnamese divisions — far more than the State Department is willing to admit; owing to its desire to make up with Hanoi — can hardly bode well. They left in 1974 for obvious reasons, and having done their work in South Vietnam are presumably regrouping to pay off their debts to Thailand, whose territory was used to bomb them almost throughout the Vietnamese war.

It is a grim scene. Thanks, the veteran anti-communist, is the best thing going for the communists. Those not yet disillusioned look once again to the military, to worldly and competent commanders like Kriangsak, who has taken the liberal side in numerous intra-governmental disputes. Crisis like these in the past have always been resolved by the military, whose place in the Thai polity is integral and wholly different from that in Western societies. Those expecting a coup may not have to wait long.

Mr. Haidane is on authority on Southeast Asia.

Behind the South Korean scandal

By Russell Brines

The key question raised by alleged Korean attempts to bribe United States congressmen for friendship has not been asked during an otherwise developing investigation and, in the present atmosphere of Washington, may never be asked publicly.

Why did the parsimonious Koreans invest all that money and effort in their so-called "subversion" campaign?

The obvious answer is that South Korean leaders feared the Americans would desert them. They were not alone. The fear was shared by the great majority of noncommunist Asians.

The Asians saw a powerful America riddled by internal upheaval plunging from the heights of Asia into the mire of the 1970s. Agreement with Hanoi. The communist conquest of South Vietnam in 1975 and the American withdrawal from Thailand and Laos. A massive vacuum of power in Asia. . . . still unfilled. . . . and new communist sabers-raiding in East

king, and Moscow with trade and political treaties. Japan sought to build up its economic power, while enduring diplomatic slights from Washington which in the past might have created a rupture of relations. Peking openly courted a continuing anti-Soviet American presence.

The Koreans responded in a typical all-faithful Asian way. Domestically, the continued weight of heavily armed, actively subversive North Korea became the cause of the justification for a tightened dictatorship. Internationally, the American connection was jealously guarded. It is charged, with more money and less skill than all the other foreign lobbies that have worked on Congress over the years — from the old "China lobby" to the pro-Israel and pro-Greek lobbies to the "communists have reformed" lobby.

Note of this means — or is intended to imply — that the asserted criminal charges resulting from Tongson Park's widely advertised activities are inconsequential or should be whitewashed. Any attempt to buy a congressman's vote should be exposed. It should be added, however, that the attempt probably is made by some source every day of the year and is ex-

posed about every generation.

But in the manner of Washington investigations, the Korean scandal is developing now and probably will continue in total disregard of its international issues. If the lighted Koreans were worried enough about the course of America's Asian policy in the late 1960s to initiate this alleged campaign to influence Congress, how do they really feel in 1977?

This is the central question of this accelerating global conflict between communists and their adversaries. The communists never have won a "revolution" through military victory. From Russia to Vietnam, they triumphed when their foes collapsed or fled, before a battlefield decision had been reached. The essence of all communist strategy is to create the political-military-economic conditions triggering such a collapse.

So the issue in Korea is not, as the administration argues, whether the South Koreans will have the arms to win another war with the North. The issue is whether, once again, the American pillory will convince Pyongyang to attack and whether the southerners will have the will to resist.

This will be the dominant constant in American-Korean relations as the GIs are withdrawn in stages, as now planned, over the next five years. During that period, it can be confidently predicted, the North will maintain an intensive political effort to undermine and to destroy the will of the southerners.

That communist campaign will be touched off, in effect, when or if the Korean probe reaches the stage of open hearings in Washington. Prosecutor Leon Jaworski and his staff consequently will face the almost impossible task of conducting a meaningful investigation into a domestic problem without providing communist propaganda with a whole arsenal of political ammunition for their international political war. No congressional investigating committee in the past 30 tumultuous years has succeeded in doing so, and few have indicated they recognize the problem.

Yet Korea is the vital western flank of Japan which, always has been international communism's primary target in Asia.

Mr. Brines is a free-lance writer on foreign affairs.